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The 1949 elections: an editorial

We can defeat 'the combination against the people'

IN the elections just passed the voters of the United States again repudiated Republicanism, just as they did in 1948 and throughout the Roosevelt years.

As in the Roosevelt years and again in 1948, they did this in spite of a fully 90% pro-Republican press and radio, which in 1949 denounced the so-called Fair Deal as "socialistic" and even "un-Americaan," just as it did the New Deal throughout the Roosevelt years.

In rejecting Republicanism, the majority of the electorate has looked it over carefully, tasted it, and correctly identified it with reaction and hard times.

The electorate has had little opportunity to study the Fair Deal critically. The overwhelmingly Republican press and radio consistently berate the Fair Deal for being what it plainly is not. Fair Deal apologists in the self-styled "liberal" press, and right-wing labor spokesmen, consistently praise it for being what it equally plainly is not.

THE electorate has therefore never been shown the picture of the Fair Deal as it really is: reaction masquerading behind a false beard of liberalism.

If the voters are ever to have a fair choice between reaction and progress, such Fair Dealing as the nation is now experiencing must be unmasked.

This is the task Progressives throughout the country set for themselves in the 1949 elections, just as they did in 1948. Obviously we have not succeeded. But as Congressman Marcantonio said after the New York mayoralty contest:

> "The fight that we waged in this campaign is a continuing fight, and it will continue. . . . We will beat the present-day combination against the people."

The Fair Deal is, in actual practice, the kind of "combination against the people" referred to by Marcantonio. It is a set of vote-catching promises with no intent of fulfilment—and the sorry fact that a dominant segment of labor leadership and opportunistic liberalism has espoused the so-called Fair Deal cannot alter this truth.

- The Fair Deal has talked peace, yet it has the world a-tremble in fear of a new war. It makes and piles up A-bombs with hysterical haste, and denounces those who dare differ with its plan for controlling the A-bomb.
- It proclaims its devotion to the United Nations, yet it has circumvented the UN at every turn to capture the markets of the world for American profiteers. It has announced a Point Four which purports to help the world's needy, while it flatly refuses to export to the countries that most need help.
- It has talked civil rights, yet it has surrendered its own civil rights platform planks without a whimper. At the same time it convicts Communists for thinking and harries thousands of Americans in a disgraceful witch-hunt.
- It pledged itself to Taft-Hartley repeal and a return to the Wagner Act. Instead it has scuttled repeal and bribed the once progressive leadership of the CIO into its corrupt den as the official Labor Front for the cold war.
- Rents and prices continue up; housing is stalled; wages are at the mercy of government fact-finding boards; the small farmer and businessman are forgotten.

Dissent from these double-deals has become virtually a hanging offense, as witness the crackdowns at the recent CIO convention and the Foley Square thought-control convictions.

The Fair Deal has turned Roosevelt's dream of a world united in peace, abundance and expanding freedoms into a nightmare of greed and world discord.

IF TRUMAN wants a monument for his Fair Deal, let him look about. That is where the Fair Deal has brought us up to now. It is for more of the same that the electorate has voted. The fact that its instincts were sound in rejecting the extreme, unashamed reaction of the Republicans will weigh little in the scales of history.

After the overwhelming defeat of Communist N.Y. Councilman Ben Davis, who is popular among his own people, by an unpopular Negro who is "respectable," a Harlem Progressive said: "We have been sold right down the river by our own people, to the 'leadership' of handkerchief-heads" (that is, to super-Uncle Toms). It isn't only the Negroes to whom that has happened. The richest, most powerful nation in the world is now being led by handkerchief-heads.

A GUARDIAN reader, sitting by his radio on election night, wrote this to us: "A successively better-informed public is the only answer. Since all the Great Organs of the

(Continued on Page 3)

Official United Nations photo

When do we eat?

Unimpressed by election returns and debates on the control of atomic energy, kids around the world, like this little Austrian boy, are asking that question. His cup is one of millions filled each day by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. For more news of UN, see page 7.

LABOR CLOSEUP

Where will the CIO go?

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WHO WON WHERE

Full boxscore on the elections

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the progressive newsweekly

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THE MAILBAG

Wallace in Philadelphia

NEWARK, N. J.

How about reprinting Wallace's Philly speech and making it available at low cost? This speech should attract millions of new members to the Progressive Party. **A. Reiss**

●

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Why not print Wallace's Philadelphia speech in half a dozen languages? I myself sat down and typed a translation for relatives in my home country. **C. H.**

●

EAST CHICAGO, IND.

Why don't you mail to people of New York copies of Henry Wallace's speech from Page 3 of the Oct. 31 issue of GUARDIAN underscoring what he said of his leftist friends, and what he said of looking to the past, relying on Marx or Lenin instead of America's past leaders?

Mrs. Albert Schwandt

●

SYRACUSE, N. Y.

I found Mr. Wallace's speech painfully disappointing and disillusioning. Mr. Wallace attempts to set up a hierarchy of saints for the Progressive movement, prominently featuring such names as Franklin, Jefferson and Jackson. Mr. Wallace should not forget that these men did not represent the masses of the people of their times; on the contrary, they represented the small and powerful Yankee middle class and the lily-white Southern aristocracy.

If I were called upon to name the American forerunners of the present movement, I would mention those who struggled bravely, but without reward or glory, for humanity. **E. C.**

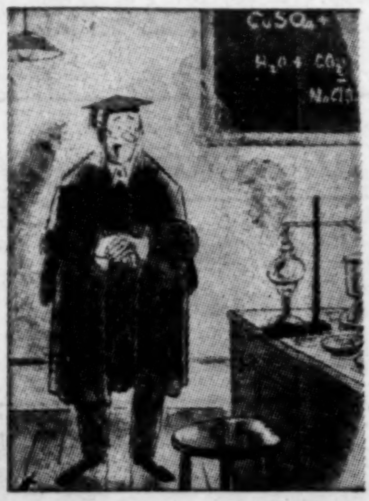
●

No more gossip!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

No, sir; ten times NO. We don't want any more Washington gossip. We have enough of this trash pouring out in streams over the radio and in the papers. We have enough of it. We want serious political discussions from our Washington correspondent and not gossip.

Z. E. S.



London Opinion

". . . and if every boy brings a little barley tomorrow, we'll try making whisky. . . ."

The answer is "No"

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

In his address Mr. Wallace says, on racism: "We all should be concerned when a school is given $50,000,000 . . . etc." He fails to say that the school refused the money! Are he and you interested in feeding the readers of your paper half-truths? **Ella Hardy Greene**

At the time Mr. Wallace spoke, the trustees of Jefferson College had indicated their acceptance of the Armstrong offer. It was not till after the speech that the trustees were moved, by popular protest, to reject the offer. The GUARDIAN (Nov. 7) carried the story. Ed.

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Lady without a hat

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

It seems we must have the sugar-coating to any sober fact before we consent to swallow it. "Twelve pages of political news" is too great a strain upon the human mind (if any) unless shock-absorbers in the shape of Hollywood Hints and a dainty column devoted to ladies' hats and the like are added.

Yet the "twelve pages of political news" are matters of life and death to us—the survival or the destruction of our American democracy—our world itself.

For heaven's sake spend the printing money on keeping us informed on domestic and international politics, and don't waste good cash money on non-essentials that we can buy every morning for a nickel!

Kay Brevoort

●

Words on words

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

If you could give us reports on books, plays and music phrased in everyday intelligible English it would round us off. So many of the liberal publications have book and music reviews that are merely words on words, unintelligible to the lay mind, as for example The Nation and New Republic.

M. DeV. B.

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Use my name

EAST ORANGE, N. J.

I note with dismay that the GUARDIAN reached three Protestant clergymen for comment on the Communist trial verdict; that all were emphatically opposed but none would permit his name to be used. I beg, urge and implore you to use my name as a Protestant clergyman in good standing with two denominations (Unitarian and Universalist), and as a vigorous supporter of the GUARDIAN's stand on democracy's most recent catastrophe.

There are no big-butter-and-egg men in my pews to upholster my income. But I have my integrity. I take no pride in the fact that I am not a Communist. Neither have I unction because I do not fellow-travel. But I don't think I can afford to be intimidated. To my three fearful colleagues I say: If you love America, you can't afford to be intimidated either.

W. Ellis Davies

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On trial: Opinion!

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

A friend asked me how it felt, "waiting for the Supreme Court to decide whether or not you're going to spend a year in the pokey." And I thought of a night in Spain 11 years ago, when a young fellow said to me: "You started something when you joined the International Brigade."

What was it we all "started?" What has happened to me and the others of the Hollywood Ten awaiting the court's judgment? What is really on trial?

These things are on trial, quite simply, starkly and terrifyingly: the ancient American characteristics of favoring the underdog, helping the oppressed, fending for the suffering, being "agin" the government when the government is wrong, struggling to extend the boundaries of our freedom in the teeth of those who would contract them. At issue in this and many parallel processes that will come before the Court this fall are the ideals we all are teaching to our children: ideals of decency, dignity, of service to our fellow-man, of fighting for the right whether or not you starve or die for it, of peace for all men, all women, all children, everywhere on the face of this one world.

This is what my friend, whose bones fertilize the Spanish soil, was talking about 11 years ago. And unless the President gets wind of a tremendous ruckus in the land—unless thousands of Americans let him know that they are scandalized by the intolerable fact that opinion is on trial today in the United States of America—we ten, the 12 in Foley Square and many more will spend more than one year in the pokey. **Alvah Bessie**

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Twin toads

SPRING HILL, KAN.

I wrote this letter to Lowell Thomas, Alex Dreier, Edwin Murrow:

"Find enclosed copy of Oct. 24 NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Do not fail to read on page 6 'The Time of the Toad' by Dalton Trumbo. I am thinking Emile Zola in one way at least was fortunate. If he were living today and faced with the twin evils of a corrupt press and radio he would find two toads alive and whole are necessary to condition one's stomach to the lies and hypocrisy that are fed daily to the citizens of this nation."

Otis W. Johnson, farmer

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Ideas for progress

PUTNEY, VT.

There are a couple of ideas that I have had to advance the cause of progressivism. One is that someone should make up large quantities of ALP and Progressive Party buttons or pins, some handsome and unobtrusive design that would let us know each other, and influence others by the sight of hundreds of thousands of us displaying our opinions.

I think the PP and the GUARDIAN should give wide publicity to the good things the UN is doing, and the things it needs. We should stress the concept of one world, united. We should, for example, try and have the UN flag flown along with the national and state flags everywhere, to symbolize the loyalty and support we owe to our world. The UN flag should be a world flag, a symbol of our basic unity. Symbolism is important in influencing the thoughts of the people, so let us put before them the highest symbols we have.

Hugh C. MacDougall

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Positive approach

SALEM, ORE.

We hope you will continue to give as much space as possible to the positive achievements of peoples and nations. The UN and other international efforts need all the help they can get from positive public opinion.

There is so much to criticize and somehow it seems easier for many of us to be against and to know what we are against than to be positive and know what we do believe in. That's why it seems important that some of the things we read have a positive approach.

To always be sure that one is honest, fair and truthful may not be sensational, but is a secure moral position which may influence others to do the same. **Fred Miles**

●

Calling all veterans

TORRANCE CALIF.

Veterans have ben deprived of their livelihood for following the path of peace. The writer is a World War II veteran with three years of service and 16 months of actual combat. He was suspended from his job as a letter carrier after 20 years in the postal service.

C. R. Chism, World War I veteran, postmaster from Bellflower, Calif., was forced to resign. Thousands of Negro, Jewish and anti-fascist employes have been fired and suspended from city, county, state and federal government jobs.

All veterans' organizations have accepted the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine. None supported Mr. Wallace during the last election. The anti-fascist veterans can't wait until 1952 to organize over 18 milion members in the struggle for peace and democracy. That must be done now.

All veterans who are willing to work for freedom and plenty should contact the Progressive Veterans, P.O. Box 282, Forest Hills, L.I., N.Y. "Veterans for Wallace" clubs should be organized in every city of every state in the union, and they should work under the aegis of the Progressive Party.

Laureano J. Gonzalez

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Worship of Baal

BETHEL, VT.

And it is written that the great Jewish prophet Elijah was told by his God that there were 7,000 in Israel who had not bent the knee to Baal—which is very un-American talk, for such 7,000 must have been a very small splinter party, and obviously subversive, probably communist. But we are told that we must vote Democratic or Republican, else be labelled "subversive" and persecuted as communists.

John J. Wilson

●

Against sin

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your article on Moral Values is a valuable contribution. "Unity" is not the answer; it merely invites organized religion to close ranks like capitalism—internationally—to make further deals. Obviously that is the reason for the same retreat in Protestantism that there is among intellectuals. They want to keep their power and property.

So what? Keep Moral Values at white heat. GUARDIAN is moral in its position on every issue. I am sure of my moral values and unhampered by the myth of original sin. People like us are the only ones not really obsolete. It is a lonely business but not half so bad as living in sin.

Dorothy Butler Howells

●

Street and number?

HOUSTON, TEX.

I suggest that you give the addresses of all "Mailbag" letters, so we can correspond. **Lewis Miller**

We'd like to hear from other readers about this suggestion. Ed.

●

Know-how

TOLEDO, OHIO

Eisenhower said recently that with unity we can lick the world. Why fight 'em, Ike? With the talent we got, we can cheat 'em out of all they have. **Subscriber**

●

The neighbors, too

DETROIT, MICH.

Your paper is a true American paper that represents all the people, regardless of creed or color, working people or middle class. All my neighbors like the paper, too.

I am Ukrainian. There is so much I would like to write about your paper, but I am short of expression. It is hard for me to think Ukrainian and write English.

Mrs. Sophia Bela

The thoughts and the English are crystal clear, Mrs. Bela. Ed.

Monthly Review offer

Monthly Review, the new, independent socialist magazine edited by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy, is offering to new one-year subscribers a free copy of Huberman's 372-page history of the U. S., **We, the People** (cost $3.75). Two-year subscribers receive without charge Sweezy's **The Theory of Capitalist Development** (cost $4), a standard text on Marxian political economy. Subscriptions ($3 for one year; $5 for two years) may be sent to: Monthly Review, Dept. G, 66 Barrow St., New York 14, N. Y

Welcome home!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

"ONE can see the Statue of Liberty now," shouted an eager young Englishman. To greet the symbol of America, immigrants, visitors and homecomers swarmed on the deck of a foreign ship in which I returned last week from a European trip.

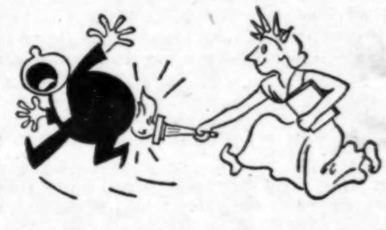
A few hours later the excitement was of an entirely different kind. U.S. Immigration officers had come on board. We were in the main lounge waiting to get our papers inspected. That lounge held happy memories of many a pleasant evening spent there during our voyage.

Loud and rude voices shouted at passengers who did not immediately understand the questions asked of them. An American lady was held back over an hour for questioning after the officer in charge said it was "known to the Immigration authorities" that she belonged to the Congress of American Women.

ONE officer distinguished himself especially by bullying the passengers. "Didn't we tell you a thousand times that you should not come here before you have your doctor's certificate inspected?" he screamed at a frightened old Danish gentleman.

A plucky American woman stepped up to him: "Do you know," she said, "that in the months I have been traveling in Europe I have not once encountered such rude manners? You should be ashamed of yourself. A fine first impression you give of the United States!"

"Don't tell me what to do, lady," said the official. "I know my business. I have been in it for 30 years."



"This is no 'business'," the courageous woman answered. "It is a task which requires tact and human understanding—and you are sadly lacking in both!" Our turn came right after this brief encounter, and as a result of it the officer changed his tune somewhat.

AFTER we got through with this inspection we were all directed toward the gangway. Hundreds of people stood there packed like sardines, unable to move or breathe—many with crying babies and upset children. We were trapped there for nearly two hours, a result of the efficient handling by the harbor authorities whose main task consisted of shoving and pushing a completely helpless crowd.

When a young man tried to soothe a weeping child, a harbor policeman gave him a knock with his stick and shouted: "Don't talk, chum, walk."

The customs inspection equaled the previous experiences. Our trunk and belongings were searched minutely and wildly strewn around. We were treated like a gang of criminals and smugglers.

It seemed a long way since we had our first glimpse of the Statue of Liberty, with its inscription which once moved our hearts so deeply: " . . . From her beacon-hand glow world wide welcome." The Goddess seemed to be saying now: "Give me your poor—I'll make 'em tired."

Mary Blaine

Summing up the convention

Where will the CIO go? What will the left unions do?

By Elmer Bendiner

CLEVELAND, OHIO

INTO the lobby of Cleveland's Carter Hotel walked a big bull-necked man with tweedy coat and wide-brimmed hat. His face was jowled; his hands were big and beefy. It was said he had led the men who last spring beat and blinded Maurice Travis, secretary of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. The sporty man wore the badge of an "honored guest" of the national convention of CIO.

The sporty man was a keynote. He carried a history, a threat, a sure prediction of dark days to come.

There was no violence at the CIO convention. The action was all just below the threshold of violence. The men who had raided, wielded brass knuckles or taken pot shots at left-wing strike leaders all through last year were the heroes.

The progressives said what they could on the convention floor. They did not loiter in the lobbies. At night they conferred among themselves in their rooms. They looked carefully at strangers.

VERBAL LYNCHING: All week long the leaders of CIO had abandoned themselves to unrestrained vituperation. Their words were reflected on the floor. Once from the gallery some toilet paper and then a bundle of rope were thrown on Harry Bridges' table. He looked up, grinned and waved. It was a prank, perhaps; but when Bridges paused to talk with a reporter as he left the hall that day, the men with him hurried him along so that all left wingers might leave the hall together.

On the platform in front of the black drapes stood a machine triumphant. It could command votes, as when Philip Murray announced during the nominations of leftists to the executive board: "The rest of the convention will abstain." It could be careless about formalities, as when chairman Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers said: "I declare Philip Murray elected to the presidency," and a moment later added: "My attention has been called to the fact I didn't put it to a vote."

JOE CURRAN
A new Prince Charming?

Hey, look who's a delegate!

President Philip Murray pinned an honorary delegate's badge on the breast of Gen. Omar Bradley, chief of the U. S. Chiefs of Staff, before he addressed the convention. It got so you couldn't tell government brass from CIO brass.

Who will drive?

Inside that victorious machine ambitious men scrambled for the driver's seat.

Phil Murray had eclipsed Walter Reuther, observers noted; Joe Curran was clearly Uncle Phil's favorite; few seemed fond of the tense and bitter Jim Carey, but Carey at last had an electrical union of his own—the new rival to UE which had once tossed him out. Fred Kelley, defeated right-wing candidate for UE's presidency, wanted the top job in the new electrical organization, and added his drop of bitterness to the corrosive mixture.

JACOB & GOD: In the middle of it all stood Jacob Potofsky, a gentle man with sad eyes and a wisp of a goatee. He is president of the powerful Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, which has always brought more strength to CIO than it has derived from it. Potofsky was in the machine but not of it.

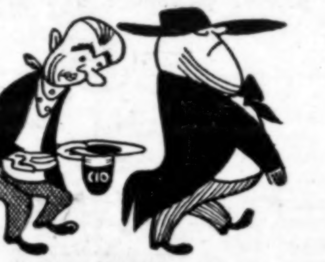
He was plainly unhappy. He prefaced his support with an apologetic, "God knows I am no red-baiter." Recalling the anti-Semitism that flourished openly at the convention last year and this time was tucked below the surface, he pleaded with one delegate: "Let's not bring in the Jewish issue here."

Where to?

With such a machine and such a crew, where would CIO go?

The nation's press thought that it would have to go still farther to the right, investigate its chief investigators, red-bait its most vociferous red-baiters to prove itself American. The Detroit **Free Press** at the convention's end said: "Still, we cannot help wondering just how broad a line separates the CIO 'right' from its 'left.'"

Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the United Electrical Workers, said CIO would now be "chasing after handouts from politicians instead of fighting for the people."



THUGS & SWIVEL CHAIRS: The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers had a standard by which to appraise CIO. Theirs is the oldest union in CIO; Big Bill Haywood had come out of their ranks and led them. Maurice Travis, Mine-Mill's Secretary, a black patch over one eye made sightless by right-wing thugs, sprawled in an armchair in his hotel room and talked to the GUARDIAN.

"How will CIO survive?" he was asked.

Travis said: "The same way the AFL did. The swivel-chair artists maintained themselves. But the CIO is going beyond the AFL. The AFL executive board had power to suspend but not expel unions. Never did the AFL attempt to dictate a hard and fast policy on political matters. The autonomy of internationals was respected.

"The machine will hold the membership so long as the economic situation makes it advisable for a company to collaborate by holding workers in the CIO union. But—" and here Travis laid a special emphasis—"companies still prefer no union."

One big company union?

CIO as an "official" labor movement would have another ally: government. Travis commented:

"CIO can survive if it becomes more and more identified with government. As government becomes more influenced by big business, CIO's dependence on government brings it closer and closer to company unionism. Either you have a real democratic union or you have the beginnings of a fascist labor front."

How about joint action on the left?

Travis said: "There is no clear-cut course of action. But naturally we're concerned about each other."

NO SPECULATION: That was the way it went all through the Left at Cleveland. The record was without a trace of facionalism. The Left dreaded the split as a catastrophe for all labor and the whole nation. It wanted no share of the blame and so prepared to stick it out to the end, standing the gaff. UE went out under its own steam but only when it was clear that in one day's time it would be thrown out.

It seemed to left-wing leaders that to speculate on what might happen should they be finally forced out was in a sense to accept the catastrophe. This they refused to do. They would not plan or talk on the basis of a disaster they were still fighting to prevent.

Donkey's tail?

Harry Bridges, president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, pointed a long, emphatic finger and told GUARDIAN:

"The third labor movement is a lot of baloney. It came out of dope stories deliberately planted by right-wing phonies like Curran and others. We intend to stay in and strive to make CIO what it originally was and is supposed to be instead of the political organization it has become. It's practically the labor committee of the Democratic Party."

Of CIO's immediate future, he said: "I expect the right wing, especially characters like Reuther, Carey, Rieve and Curran, to seek the assistance of all kinds of reactionary elements including employers, industrialists and monopolists."

TWO CRIMES: After the convention had adjourned in Cleveland, the executive board met and set up committees to investigate two sets of charges. The right wing charged all of the left unions and their leaders with following the Communist Party line. Harry Bridges charged Joseph Curran and the National Maritime Union with crossing picket lines on three separate occasions.

The difference between Right and Left seemed well illustrated in those charges. Bridges detailed specific anti-union acts on specific dates at specific hours.

The right wing had passed an anti-communist program on Friday. On Saturday the left-wing leaders were arraigned under it. In the interim they could have committed no crime save that of thinking dangerous political thoughts all night.

An editorial statement on the 1949 elections

(Continued from page 1)

Press reflect strictly what is handed down by the machines, the only hope lies with publications such as yours." He believes, and we agree with him, that times when "segments of the population are taken for collective sleigh rides" are times for straight talk and an end to self-deception.

We would go further and say that now is the time to organize the people at the grass roots; in the long run it's the only campaigning that counts. There is where a progressive press can really help.

It is not self-deception to say and repeat that facts and history are on our side. Great forward movements—perhaps the greatest in all history—are taking place in the world. In China, 400 million people have their feet set firmly on the road to peace and abundance. The terror of an atom-bomb monopoly in the hands of our warlike Fair Dealers has vanished overnight, and across the globe atomic energy is already being used to benefit the lives of the people.

Even here in the U. S. our decent heritage remains strong in most of the people, and strange things happen to bring sudden light into the darkness. Courts around the country are taking a stand against the witch-hunters. Higher tribunals have begun dismantling the decisions of Judge Medina's kangaroo court at Foley Square.

IT WOULD indeed be self-deception to suggest that the voters have anything to congratulate themselves about. But to the solid core of progress--- who know the issues, who fought to lighten with facts the darkness of ignorance and fear—to all these people we say: You have fought well against odds which might have daunted you if you were not the salt of the earth.

Many fighting progressives may for a time be discouraged by the realization that it is a bigger, harder and longer job than they imagined. But disappointments fade; the job MUST go on. Just as inevitably it MUST succeed. The Czechs have a national slogan which appeared and reappeared and appeared again on the walls of their cities and villages during the long years of Nazi occupation: Truth prevails. It always does.

Our reader is right: A successively better-informed public is the only answer. We shall continue doing our part to spread the truth. We believe you will do yours.

The Editors

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

POLITICS

It's Truman Time all over again as Democrat's sweep the nation

THERE were few people in Times Square and less traffic than usual when the beacons on top of the Times Building swung around, then steadied, one pointing north, the other east.

That was the code by which the Times declared that Democrat Herbert Lehman was Senator; Democrat William O'Dwyer was Mayor. The beacons would have swung south and west for the Republicans, faded altogether in case of an ALP victory.

The lamplighters of Times Square heralded more Democratic victories than those in New York State. All over the nation it was Truman Time again. The Fair Deal was confirmed in office just as if one year of a Fair Deal President and a Fair Deal Congress had fulfilled any part of Fair Deal promises.

The election made some things clear: the people feared the Republicans and by and large would have no part of them. And, though Progressives held their own in many places, most Americans, when they wanted to vote against Republicans, could think only of Democrats.

NEW YORK

O'Dwyer reelected; Lehman licks Dulles

EIGHT rows of candidates appeared on the New York City voting machines. A record off-year total of 2,600,000 voters (94% of the 1949 registration; 83% of the total vote in Presidential 1948) went to the polls.

When the votes were counted, voters had:

- Reelected Democratic incumbent Mayor William O'Dwyer over Republican-Liberal-Fusion aspirant Newbold Morris and American Labor Party's first independent mayoralty candidate, Congressman Vito Marcantonio.
- Resoundingly rejected Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's hand-picked Sen. John Foster Dulles, overcoming an impressive upstate Republican lead to elect Democratic former Gov. Herbert H. Lehman for one remaining year of the term of retired Democratic Sen. Robert F. Wagner.

REJUVENATED TIGER: In the race for mayor, these were the results:

O'Dwyer	**1,264,000**
Morris	**956,170**
Marcantonio	**356,423**

O'Dwyer's total was a big gain over his 1945 figure. Then he got 1,125,355 (including 257,000 ALP votes). His increase was credited to a Tammany machine revived after four years of purposeful patronage and the Truman

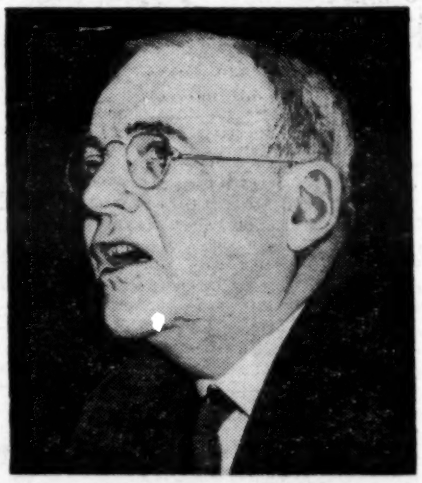
victory of 1948—plus the fact that the Democratic ticket was led by Lehman, always a good vote-getter.

Morris, running with Dulles on the Republican line and with Lehman on the Liberal line, got 225,000 votes less on the GOP line than Dulles. During the campaign Morris shied away from endorsing either senatorial candidate and constantly invoked the memory of the late Fiorello LaGuardia, a most irregular Republican. This is credited with alienating thousands of Republican voters.

ALP holds its own

Marcantonio's vote did not nearly match the ALP's hope of cutting into the O'Dwyer machine vote. But the 356,423 total was almost a 100,000 gain over ALP's 1945 total of 257,000. Percentage-wise the 1949 vote for Marc equalled Henry Wallace's 14% of the total New York City vote in 1948.

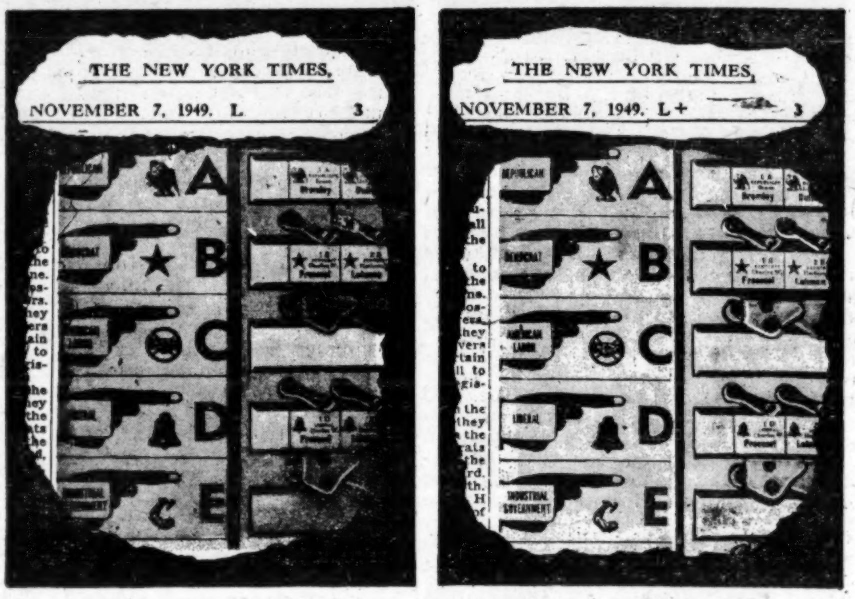
ALP MADE THE ISSUES: There was no question that the ALP had sparked the campaign, which for O'Dwyer seemed to have no issues, and for Morris only a familiar harangue on civic corruption. Marc had tagged O'Dwyer for unwarranted transportation fare increases, under-taxing big real estate, failing to advance public housing and permitting police to smash picket lines and terrorize the city's Negro population.



JOHN FOSTER DULLES
It was a broken record

In the closing weeks of the campaign, O'Dwyer, smarting under the ALP attack, concentrated his fire on Marcantonio and all but forgot about Morris. Even in third place, Marc looked great.

(Continued on following page)



How low can the press get?

(A whodunit in 2 acts)

ACT I.—In its early "L" edition of Nov. 7 the N. Y. Times reported a charge by the American Labor Party that election authorities, in a deliberate attempt to confuse voters, had rigged up the letter designating Row C to look like an "O." In the same edition the Times carried a sample-ballot reproduction clearly bearing out the charge (see above, left). ACT II (one edition later).—Caught with its dignified pants self-lowered, the Times in its "L+" edition had its technicians clean up the sample-ballot cut with a white margin drawn between the letters and the black separating line (see above, right). "L+" and later purchasers were comfortably reassured that the ALP charge was just another campaign stunt by Those Awful Reds.

Chicago dateline

Salute to Marc Nov. 18 will open Progressive campaign

By Rod Holmgren
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

CHICAGO

CHICAGO'S Progressive Party will salute Vito Marcantonio in a rally at the Coliseum Friday evening, Nov. 18—and at the same time boast a little about its own accomplishments.

As PP leaders complete preparations for the rally, at which Henry Wallace, Dalton Trumbo and Ewart Guinier will also speak, ward clubs are choosing more than a dozen candidates for the State Assembly and laying plans for a petition campaign which will start in six weeks. The rally is expected to serve as a kickoff for the Progressive Party's 1950 election campaign; in Chicago they start early.

BATTLES THAT COUNT: PP's ward organizations have been revived in three hard-hitting campaigns, all on behalf of consumers:

- Against a phone rate increase. A PP petition filed with the Illinois Commerce Commission asks for reduction of "discriminatory" toll rates and refunds up to $7,500,000 in overcharges.
- Against a blanket rent boost. As the Cook County Rent Advisory Board opened a "review" of the evidence on a proposed 45% rent boost, PP members joined the Chicago Tenants Action Council in a demonstration Nov. 10 in front of the Chicago Rent Office. Progressives have a simple suggestion for the board: reaffirm the recommendation denying any increases and spell out reasons in detail, to comply with a federal court order.
- For a rollback in transit fares. The PP's petition for a permanent injunction canceling the recent 2c boost in trolley and "L" fares was to come before Judge Elmer Schnackenberg Nov. 14.

The ill-housed die

THE building at 5634 S. Parkway was created 40 years ago to house six families. Ten years ago it was divided into one-room kitchenettes. When fire broke out early one morning last week there were 67 families lodged in the building—a total of nearly 400 persons, all Negroes. Five died, 27 were injured.

Some slept in the boiler-room, others in hallways. Joyce and Herbert Jones, six and ten, lived on the third floor. When fire blocked their exit, they were suffocated.

The lights went out. Screaming tenants fought in the dark to get out. For those on upper floors, the simplest way was to jump. Injuries included nine broken arms, legs, ankles.

CORRIDORS TO DEATH: Building inspectors had visited the place three weeks before and recorded no violations. The day after the fire, Building Commissioner Roy T. Christiansen and Fire Chief John Fenn told Mayor Martin Kennelly the building did not "appear" to have violated any ordinances.

The facts did not support them. All apartments did not have access to exits as required by the 1939 building code. Nor were there open corridors between the front and back stairways, also required. Electric circuits were overloaded.

There is almost no enforcement of the Chicago building code. Honest inspectors are brushed aside when they charge violations. Delays of 18 months or two years are granted landlords to make repairs. The code provides for fines of $25 a day for each violation until its correction; the penalty has never been tried.

THE FIGHT GOES ON: The Progressive Party has campaigned nearly two years for strict enforcement. Now Alderman Robert Merrian has taken up the cry in the City Council. The day of the fire the Metropolitan Housing Council heard G. Yates Cook of Baltimore, Md., a housing official, say: "Law enforcement of housing regulations is the basic medicine for the prevention and arrest of slum blight in any city."

That was also the day Christiansen and Fenn said there had been "no violations" of the code by the landlord at 5634 S. Parkway.

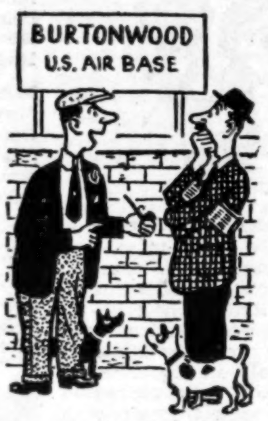
Jennings Perry

Who's ascairt?

IN its November number Louis Dolivet's **United Nations World** prints a summary of reactions in 59 nations to the frightful news that the atom bomb is now poised for delivery on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The story merely repeats the phenomenon observed in the U. S.: **nobody** was frightened.

I do not think the editors of the **World** themselves were quite prepared for this revelation. Their November issue is built around the lugubrious theme: "The Impending End of the World." But if Doomsday really is that nigh (and we do have the means of bringing it on), how explain the apparent calm of the people?

Are they tired of living? Don't they believe the unprincipled Bolsheviks are unprincipled? Or that the United States, which pulled the trigger over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, ever again will pull the trigger? . . . What is the matter with all the people anyway? Even mice will scamper from a broom.



Reynolds News, London

"Why not give Russia an air base here too, I says. Then neither of 'em will atom bomb us. Simple, eh?"

THE **World** itself attempts no explanation. It does conclude from the evidence in hand that "a weariness bordering on apathy is abroad in the world"; that "men and women seem to be saturated with propaganda and scare headlines, and are willing to concentrate only upon their immediate tasks and the problems which make up the texture of their everyday lives."

A correspondent in Turkey hazards the guess that the inhabitants of those parts have an "unconscious realization that atomic bombs are weapons to be used by and against giants only." Another, in Montevideo, sends the following quote from Dr. Dardo Regules, head of the Uruguayan Catholic Party:

"I am not worried about the atomic bomb; I am worried about the moral order. The atomic bomb does not alarm me, but I would be greatly alarmed were there a fall in the power of love. . . . I am confident that Christianity is stronger than atomic force."

WHAT Dr. Regules has to say is interesting indeed, and we may hope his confidence is not misplaced; his anxiety about the moral order certainly is not.

In this juxtaposition of confidence and concern, however, we must perceive the paradox. For if Christianity, which is a code of ethics as well as a religion, is all that strong, what can there possibly be in the moral order after all these years to be afraid of?

What I am afraid of is that when Dr. Regules, like so many other pious men, speaks optimistically of Christianity he is talking about persistence, not triumph. The ethic has been able to survive persecutions, betrayals and wars it has not been able to prevent. Indeed, its most vocal instrument, the organized church, has been wonderfully prone all these years to condemn wars and excuse wars at the same time—just as it has been able at once to execrate and tolerate within its own body racial discrimination, class snobbery and patriotic passions which have nothing to do with the prime doctrine of the brotherhood of man.

IF Christianity merely mumbles about the atom bomb, or merely sighs or looks the other way, it may in fact remain to offer solace to whatever remains when the bomb explodes. That would be something.

But if Christianity is to be **stronger** than the bomb, it must stop the bomb. It must stop wars when they are cold, before they get hot and bomb-happy.

I hope pious men like Dr. Regules are right. But it should be plain even to them that thus far fear has done more than faith to keep the atom bomb on the ground.

(Continued from preceding page)

The Lehman vote

Lehman originally backed Mrs. Roosevelt against Cardinal Spellman over the Barden bill on Federal aid to education. He later reversed himself, but Catholic opposition due to his early position resulted in O'Dwyer voters cutting Lehman for Dulles. Hearst's **Daily Mirror** openly advocated O'Dwyer-Dulles voting. Result: Lehman ran 200,000 votes behind O'Dwyer in New York City on the Democratic line.

ALP, with no senatorial candidate of its own, battled Dulles for bigotry and as architect of the renazification of Germany; it opposed Lehman, too, for supporting Truman's cold war and repressive policies. But an estimated 200,000 ALP voters nevertheless helped down Dulles with Lehman votes. Most of them were concealed in the Democratic figures but at least 20,000 of them were out in the open in the Liberal Party totals. Lehman's final margin in the State was 196,000.

LONE REPUBLICAN: The O'Dwyer sweep won every city office except one of 25 City Council seats. Republican-Liberal Stanley Isaacs was the only non-Democrat elected.

Among the defeated City Council candidates was Communist incumbent Benjamin J. Davis, whose conviction along with ten other leaders of the U. S. Communist Party is now being appealed. Running with ALP support, Davis bettered previous ALP votes in his district but was beaten 3-1 by Rep.-Dem.-Lib. coalition candidate Earl Brown. The party registration had made the odds 10-1 against Davis.

BENJAMIN DAVIS
The odds won out

GOP badly upset

The Democratic tide rolled upstate, too, seriously threatening the Republican hold on the governorship and State Legislature in 1950. Democrats ousted GOP mayors in nine major upstate cities: Syracuse, Binghamton, Ithaca, Rome, Plattsburg, Cortland, Geneva, Port Jervis and Hudson.

In addition, Albany expectedly went Democratic again; Utica reelected its Democratic mayor for a third term, Poughkeepsie for a second; and Peekskill lost to a Republican by only 5 votes. Republicans held on in Buffalo, Glens Falls, Ogdensburg and Lockport.

CALIFORNIA

The aged lose out

CALIFORNIANS killed their year-old pension plan for the aged and the blind by a substantial margin. Pensions will now be fixed by county regulations which throw the burden on low income groups. First results of the vote will be to remove 41,000 from the rolls because the eligibility age is raised from 63 to 65. Opponents of the law had argued "inefficiency" in administration. Democrat James Roosevelt, expecting to run for governor next year, backed the law. Republican Gov. Earl Warren opposed it. The state legislature launched an investigation of the law just before the vote. Progressives opposed repeal.

HOME FOR
THE AGED

SHELLEY WINS: In a special congressional election in San Francisco Democrat John F. Shelley easily defeated Republican Lloyd Cosgrove and independent Democrat Charles R. Garry. Shelley is state AFL head. Garry had Independent Progressive Party support. The vote was Shelley, 78,887; Cosgrove, 52,354; Garry, 9,845.

Around the nation

BOSTON: Truman Democrats and Republicans teamed up behind City Clerk John B. Hynes and handed a surprising defeat to the city's 75-year-old boss, Democratic Mayor James M. Curley. Democrat Hynes has never before held high office, but acted as mayor while Curley served a jail sentence as a five-percenter in 1946.

Progressive Walter O'Brien, who campaigned without a headquarters and with almost no funds, got 3,653 votes.

PHILADELPHIA: A scandal-scarred Republican administration was dealt a blow by the Democrats in a race for four municipal posts. Republican Mayor Bernard Samuel was not up for reelection, but he felt shaken in the storm. Richardson Dilworth, new city treasurer, had keynoted the "Fair Deal" campaign. Progressive Lillian Narins, in a special race for city council in West Philadelphia, ran last.

OHIO: Voters in Ohio have long been able to vote a straight ticket by marking a single "X." On the ballot last week they found a proposal aimed at catching 100,000 additional votes for Sen. Robert A. Taft next year. It would require separate markings for each candidate. Apparently Taft hoped to run ahead of his ticket if he had the chance. The CIO and AFL, thinking of Taft, opposed any change in the ballot.

Last Tuesday the proposition was adopted by a 250,000-vote margin. But opponents said it was invalid because it wasn't supported by a majority of all the voters; 400,000 had abstained. Republicans will have to fight for the change in court.

In Cleveland, Democratic Mayor Thomas A. Burke won handily over Republican Franklin A. Polk. Mrs. Jean Murrell Capers, a Negro attorney, won a Democratic seat on the City Council.

Hague's last stand

NEW JERSEY: Republican Gov. Alfred E. Driscoll was reelected by a substantial margin over Democratic State Sen. Elmer Wene, backed by Boss Frank Hague. Hague's support cost Wene heavily in Democratic votes. After the returns were in Hague announced his retirement.

Progressive James Imbrie ran far behind. He had won one big fight when the Superior Court threw out loyalty oaths for state candidates last month.

DETROIT: George Edwards, City Council president and former UAW organizer, was soundly beaten in the race for mayor by City Treasurer Albert E. Cobo. Edwards had the support of the CIO Political Action Committee and the Americans for Democratic Action. Cobo was backed by business interests. It was the fourth time in 12 years that the CIO-backed candidate had failed.

Progressive candidates in the City Council election, Stanley Nowak and Rev. Chester A. Hill, each polled over 100,000 votes, but failed of election. Opposition to them was bitter; a stalking horse candidate with the same name was entered to draw votes from Nowak.

PITTSBURGH: Democratic Mayor David L. Lawrence was returned by a record margin over Republican Timothy Ryan. He carried with him the entire Democratic slate for city council. Progressives were not on the ballot.

Poll tax stays

VIRGINIA-TEXAS: Amendments to repeal the poll tax were defeated in Texas and Virginia. Progressives in both states had campaigned against repeal because the proposals carried a rider which gave the state legislature authority to substitute stiffer voting restrictions. The defeat, testifying to the futility of leaving such matters to state politics, gave fresh impetus to the drive for federal anti-poll tax legislation. Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) will reintroduce his anti-poll tax bill in the next session of Congress.

COMMUNIST GAINS: In three cities Communist Party candidates showed noteworthy strength in minor races. Anthony Krchmarek, Ohio Communist legislative director and a defense witness at the Foley Square trial in New York, won 57,000 votes for the Cleveland Board of Elections. In Akron Bernard Marks, running for the School Board, got 7,500. (The previous high for a Communist was 1,900 in 1939.) In a race for the School Committee in Boston, Otis Hood received 15,500 votes, a 25% increase over the 1947 total.

WASHINGTON

SUPREME COURT

Justices at work

MONDAY was "opinion day" at the Supreme Court. The justices were ready with their views on matters ranging from aspects of Taft-Hartley to jimcrow.

A year ago the Administration got an emergency Taft-Hartley injunction against a United Mine Workers coal strike. John L. Lewis' union ignored it, appealed the $1,420,000 fine to the Supreme Court to test the injunctive power.

Last week five justices, including Truman's newest appointee, Sherman Minton, voted against hearing the appeal; in effect they upheld Taft-Hartley. Justice Tom Clark didn't vote. Three of Franklin D. Roosevelt's appointees—Black, Reed and Douglas—wanted at least to hear argument. They were overruled.

(Continued on following page)

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LOYALTY OATH PUZZLER: Next day the justices heard arguments on a challenge of Los Angeles County's loyalty oath for its employes brought by AFL and CIO unions. The oath includes an affidavit that county workers have never belonged to any of 144 "subversive" organizations.

Justices were irritated when Los Angeles County counsel failed to make clear whether or not the oath was required by law. They told him to clarify the point in writing.

SEPARATE BUT EQUAL: Accepting three cases for review, the court last week cleared the way for decisions which could overturn the legal structure of racial segregation (GUARDIAN, Nov. 7).

It decided to hear the appeals of Heman Marion Sweatt, barred from the University of Texas Law School, and of G. W. McLaurin, jimcrowed into a separate ante-room for University of Oklahoma classes. Earlier the court had agreed to hear the case of Elmer W. Henderson, who was served behind a curtain on a diner of the Southern Railway. Much jimcrow rested its case on that "separate but equal" meal.

On another jimcrow issue, the court upheld an injunction barring discrimination by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and three southern railroads.

Teachers against jimcrow

Teachers handed down their own opinions on jimcrow.

Answering a questionnaire from the Southern Educational Fund, headed by Aubrey Williams, they were overwhelmingly in favor of immediate admission of Negroes to graduate schools without discrimination.

The poll covered 181 schools in 14 states and the District of Columbia. Of 3,375 teachers replying, 70% favored no segregation; 25% wanted regional, segregated graduate schools. Only 3% were for segregation in existing schools, 2% for setting up new graduate schools just for Negroes.

You'll find stories in the GUARDIAN you'll find in no other paper.

WITCH-HUNTS

Subversive heiress: She bought no yacht

THE House Committee on Un-American Activities opened another season last week. The staging was poor. There were no newsreels, no banks of microphones, no kleig lights. The casting was not up to standard. Chairman John S. Wood (D-Ga.) held the stage alone save for a walk-on by Rep. Morgan Moulder (D-Mo.). They played to an empty house, though they drew a good press. The script was familiar. The title was: **The Heiress.**

Chief Investigator Louis Russell conducted the hearing. First was wealthy Mrs. Louise Bransten Berman, up for the second time before the committee. She testified that she did not help Gerhart Eisler out of a Nazi concentration camp, nor translate Molotov's speech at the San Francisco UN conference. She didn't even speak Russian, said Mrs. Berman.

CURTAIN SPEECH: Afterwards, she gave the press this statement which Wood refused to let her read into the record:

"If I had spent my money on yachts and jewels, this committee would have had no fault to find with me. . . . On the contrary, I might even have been appointed ambassador to some small or medium-sized duchy. And I suppose that if I had $50,000,000 to offer for the perpetuation of racial segregation, some members of this committee might regard me quite favorably."

CRITIC: Next came Joseph Gaer of Gaer Associates, the first publisher called under the committee's investigation of publishers announced a year ago. Russell got through with him in five minutes. Gaer said he was not a Communist and was dismissed.

Gaer is among the few publishers left who consistently publish books by progressives, such as Avro Manhattan's **The Vatican in World Politics,** O. John Rogge's **Our Vanishing Civil Liberties.**

MISCAST: Next day the committee "investigated" Max Bedacht, former Communist Party official who left the party last year. The committee said he was a "friendly witness." Would he, asked the committee, give the names of Soviet espionage agents with whom he worked while in the party?

Very politely, Bedacht told them that he didn't know what they were talking about. The committee asked if he still believed in communism. Said Bedacht: "I most certainly do."

LOUISE BERMAN
Mink is not suspect

LABOR W

COAL STRIKE

3-week armistice; ball is still Lewis'

COAL operators held firm in the two-month-old strike, hoping for government intervention, preferably by use of the Taft-Hartley law. John L. Lewis had sought to crack their solid front by separate negotiations with Indiana and Illinois operators. He had failed.

Mediator Cyrus Ching had called a Washington meeting of miners and operators for Thursday at 11 a.m. There the showdown seemed certain to come. If no agreement was reached, the White House was unhappily resigned to taking some action. However much Harry Truman might want to "get" Lewis, it would be politically inexpedient to use Taft-Hartley.

What seemed to be shaping up was a fact-finding board similar to the one in steel which denied wage increases.

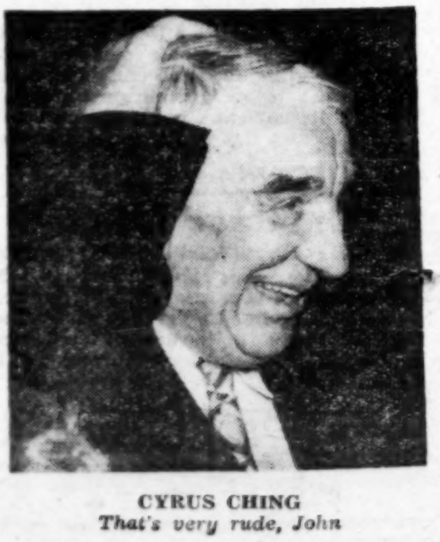
OLD THUNDER: On Wednesday Lewis broke out of the trap that seemed to be closing: he sent the 385,000 striking miners back to work until midnight, Nov. 30, a 21-day period. He described the move as "an act of good faith, designed to contribute to public convenience."

He warned householders and public institutions to stock up with coal against "a further suspension period in the event that the contemptuous arrogance of the coal operators remains undiminished."

Against the operators he loosed his thunder: they were "arrogant and brutal," untruthful conspirators guilty of "deceitful stratagems" who hide "enormous profits." They have, he said, a "sordid and mercenary appetite."

STOOD UP: On Thursday the operators and mediator Ching met on schedule in Washington. Nobody was there from the United Mine Workers. But a telegram was delivered: "Ching. Department Labor, Washington, D.C. Your wire. Mine Workers representation will be your office 2:30 o'clock Monday. Lewis."

The mine chief once more had set his own terms, called his own tune. The press described Ching as "burned." He called for his car and sped to the White House to tell the President about it. The mine operators stayed in the conference room all alone.



CYRUS CHING
That's very rude, John

West Coast wire

Californians pressing for trade with the New China

By Gene Richards
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

SAN FRANCISCO

A MONTH ago San Francisco's famed Chinatown made headlines when 40 hoodlums attacked a Chinese workers' meeting, demolished furniture and roughed up participants. Victims were 400 members of the Chinese Workers Mutual Aid Society, who were celebrating the founding of New China.

Sponsors of the meeting said the mob was led by Kuomintang agents, egged on by leaders of West Coast tongs and societies of business men backing Chiang Kai-shek.

QUICK CHANGE: Last week public opinion inside and outside the Chinese community was changing. Wealthy Chinese merchants and tong spokesmen, with an eye cocked at economic barometers, wanted no part of the raiders.

One rich importer, previously benefiting from a potent political connection with Chiang's local organization, privately explained why he had refused to run for office again this year: "I'm a businessman. I've got to look in both directions."

Such practical economists weren't the only ones who regarded with alarm the damaging effects of the Truman Administration's cold war in the Pacific on production and employment.

WHEN TRADE BECKONS: New China's announced desire to increase cotton buying brought from California growers a clamor for reopening of trade regardless of political differences. The **California Farm Reporter** declared:

"Shanghai alone wants 275,000 bales. The cotton growers are unwilling to take the loss in reduced acreage and marketing quotas caused by the present blockade."

Tacit approval of the Nationalist blockade by the State Dept. provoked an angry rebuke from Richard McLaren, president of Pacific Transport Lines. His company was anxious to resume a profitable trade built through the port of Tientsin since 1946.

"Representatives of our company," McLaren reported, "have approached the State Dept. on several occasions seeking a policy commitment for support of such trade. On each occasion we have met with evasion and vacillation."

TIE THAT BLINDS: Administration indifference to such warnings was old stuff to a number of West Coast unions which had long ago seen the drop in shipping, production and employment as proof of the link between foreign policy and their living conditions.

Harry Bridges' International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (CIO) pointed to a 60% decline in hours worked by its men, largely because of the Truman Doctrine in the Pacific.

The San Francisco shipping guide gave the picture. Monthly average of ships leaving for China had been 20 until last June, when it fell to 10. The following month it dropped to one.

Chief cold war casualties have been the maritime industry, cotton, lumber and grain. And California's unemployment crisis—now forcing belated official recognition—rivals that of New England.

IT MAY HURT, BUT—: It seems likely the West Coast will become more and more critical of a State Dept. whose China policy has slid from vast military aid to Chiang to impeding the economic recovery of the new government, no matter how much it hurts the U.S. economy.

Foreshadowing the cold war dilemma confronting Administration policies on the West Coast was a report published two years ago in the San Francisco News by its industrial editor, who had interviewed disapproving American businessmen in China and even then concluded: "The Americans of Shanghai are poles apart from Washington thinking."

WEEK

Later the still smoldering Ching announced there would be no meeting on Monday and that the government planned no further mediation. He said Lewis' sudden truce had forestalled government intervention and hinted strong action if miners strike again on Dec. 1.

STEEL STRIKE

Companies weaken

SIX weeks after it started, the steel strike was all but over. After Bethlehem Steel broke the employers' front and agreed to non-contributory pensions and contributory welfare benefits, other companies began falling in line.

The pension plan, recommended by President Truman's fact-finding board, would grant $100 a month to a worker with 25 years' service at the age of 65; the figure includes his social security benefits. The separate welfare plan developed by Bethlehem takes a 2½-cent-an-hour contribution from each worker, which is matched by the company.

Wages in steel would remain frozen at present levels.

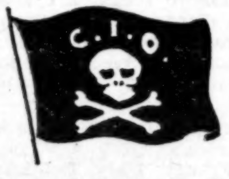
FALL IN LINE: By Thursday five of the major producers had signed up on the basis of the "Bethlehem Formula." The new ones were Republic, Jones & Laughlin, Youngstown Sheet & Tube, and Great Lakes Steel. Inland Steel was ready to go along. All told, 48 big and little companies had settled by then.

The big one, U.S. Steel Co., which produces 34% of the nation's steel with 170,000 workers, went into pension talks with steel union chief Philip Murray on Thursday.

UNITED ELECTRICAL

Not wild about Carey

BEFORE the CIO issued its charter to the new electrical union designed to undercut the United Electrical Workers, CIO Secretary-Treasurer James Carey had prepared a headquarters for it. He had taken a whole floor in a building not far from the White House. The rent is $16,000 a year.



As Carey's supporters last week planned raids against UE with contracts covering 600,000 workers, the battleground spread from shops to courts and negotiating tables. CIO agents seized treasuries, fostered secession resolutions, beat up opponents.

PINK JUDGE? UE leaders remained calm and left decisions to shop memberships. Where Carey succeeded in setting up dual locals, UE would move for NLRB elections to determine representation. Scores of locals reaffirmed affiliation to UE. Some 50,000 members of the Farm Equipment Workers formally joined UE.

Wherever the secession stampede was tried, UE obtained court orders preventing further action. Such an order issued by Justice Jesse E. Kingsley in Syracuse, N.Y., brought a mimeographed blast from Carey: "This action proves there is no justice in Justice Kingsley's court. I urge all decent unionists to send Justice Kingsley pink carnations shaped like sickles."

MEMBERS UNMOVED: Carey had boasted that the 14,000-member Westinghouse local at Pittsburgh would secede; last week its shop stewards voted 4 to 1 to stay in UE. Loyal members confirmed the decision, expelled the would-be seceders, claimed an "indorsement" of the CIO union was voted only by 3,500 striking steel workers.

Carey men called a meeting of the 7,000 UE members in Elizabeth, N.J.; 67 showed up. The big local had just ended a five-month strike for a new Singer contract. Secession would mean new negotiations.

THE ECONOMY

EXPORTS

Hard-headed insanity

IN San Francisco, 1,000 delegates to the 75th annual convention of the American Bankers Assn. applauded vigorously when Deputy ECA Administrator William C. Foster assured them: "The Marshall Plan is not relief. It is hard-headed business."

But U.S. unemployed and some U.S. businessmen and exporters might ask just how hard-headed the Marshall Plan really is. One of its essential features is a ban on export of industrial goods to the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. As a result of these and other restrictions, U.S. exports, despite heavy subsidies, have fallen steadily since the summer of 1947, deepening the slump.

OFF LIMITS: Last week, the Dept. of Commerce announced that it was extending the ban on "war-potential" goods to all countries of the world except Canada. Purpose of the new restrictions, said the government, was to forestall reshipment of such goods to the Soviet sphere.

U.S. exporters complained that 90% of their exports, among the 100 items on the new control list, are used in the countries of destination, that the order would involve red tape, increased expenses, cost them business.

Principal targets of the new ban, according to the press, were the Chinese People's Republic and Latin America. But these countries buy almost none of the goods placed on the control list. The order was regarded by many as a political move by the Administration to quiet Republican criticism of Administration policy in China. It seemed unlikely to have much sedative effect.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Dennis: political case?

"I WOULD say," said Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson, "this was a political case." He was speaking of the trial two years ago of Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the U.S. Communist Party and later one of the Foley Square defendants. Dennis had refused to obey a summons by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He was tried in the District of Columbia and convicted of "contempt of Congress." Seven of the jurors were government employes.

Last week, the Supreme Court heard Dennis' appeal. The question was: In this time of the loyalty check and the witch hunt, can government workers be impartial jurors in a case involving a Communist? Justice Jackson reiterated the court's stand that government employes should be eligible for jury duuty, except under special circumstances. A "political case," he said, might be such a circumstance.

OBJECTION OVERRULED: On this particular appeal of Dennis hung the cases of others convicted of contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee: the Hollywood 10, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. Justice Clark, whose lieutenants prosecuted the case, refused to disqualify himself. The court reserved decision.

Dennis, along with the nine other co-defendants of Foley Square, was free to live at home, work at party headquarters, speak, write, organize. The court granted the rights above frantic government objections. One day before the elections, though, the New York State Supreme Court took away the vote from City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis and John Gates, editor of the **Daily Worker.**

Harassment continued in other ways. Davis was unable to collect his City Council pay, attached by the government in connection with his $10,000 fine. And in Washington, Attorney General J. Howard McGrath told a lawyers' meeting that "those 11 punks" had no complaint on civil rights.

NEW YORK

Scarsdale bans purge

IN suburban Scarsdale, N. Y., last month, a self-appointed "Committee of Ten" (with nine members) demanded a purge from school libraries of "subversive" books written by "communists or apologists for communism"—specifically, Howard Fast, Shirley Graham, Anna Louise Strong and Louis Untermeyer.

In a paid newspaper ad, 81 leading Scarsdale citizens (including bankers and corporation presidents) said: "No!" to the purge. Last week, the Scarsdale school board made that "No" official.

A committee of the school board had checked the "subversive" books and found no "material seditious in character or disloyal to the U.S." Censorship in education, it added, was "completely un-American itself."

United Nations report

U. S. frets as its friends get new ideas on atom control

GUARDIAN UN Correspondence

LAKE SUCCESS

AS DISCUSSION of atomic energy control was resumed here last week, seasoned newspapermen and delegates, recalling League of Nations disarmament debates, wondered if any agreement was possible. Others, less pessimistic, felt that seemingly hopeless efforts now being made by "middle powers" might break the U.S.-Soviet deadlock if they get enough support.

The U.S. goes on repeating, rather scornfully, that its plan is the only workable one unless somebody has a better. In light of confirmed Soviet use of atomic energy for irrigation and land reform, the U.S.S.R. reaffirmed its insistence on simultaneous disarmament and control machinery. Inspection against atomic militarization would suffice, said Andrei Vishinsky; but "we are masters of our great land under our own plan and are required to account for this to no international organ of control." If bombs were "unfortunately necessary, we should have as many of these as we should need, no more and no less."

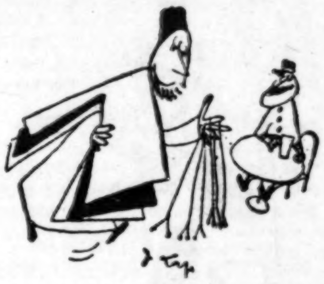
Middle powers hitherto siding with the U.S. who did not worry about outlawing the Bomb as long as only the Americans had it, are now concerned about possible bombing from another quarter.

Any departure by them from total support of the U.S. plan is expressed in very diplomatic language; but by offering and supporting resolutions to outlaw the Bomb (or at least temporarily) **as soon as possible**, they find themselves in agreement with the Soviet plan in this respect.

"MAJORITY NOT ENOUGH": First interesting break in the western atomic front came when France and Canada submitted a mild joint resolution, calling for continuation of talks by the six atomic powers and for partial surrender of sovereignty by all governments to protect world security. While the resolution itself was no break, the speech by Canada's Lester Pearson marked a departure from the old inflexible attitude.

Pearson said that, although there was a majority-approved plan, ". . . in this matter approval by a majority, however impressive, is not enough. If humanity is to be made secure from the dangers of atomic destruction, **all nations must agree** [our emphasis] on measures which we know can be and will be implemented by all." Of the majority plan he added: "Our thinking concerning it [is not] rigid and inflexible."

Such ideas from their closest friends do not make the Americans happy. Even that very good neighbor Argentina now wants the Bomb outlawed for "aggressive" purposes, and Egypt said plainly the Bomb must be outlawed. India asked moral condemnation of the Bomb and an International Law Commission draft declaration on duties of states and individuals in the atomic-energy field.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Old clothes . . . rags . . . fortunes told . . . atomic secrets. . . ."

HAITI MAKES SENSE: Haiti's plan, the most workable submitted, might open an avenue for agreement. It calls for an international convention outlawing atomic armaments; international control of nuclear energy to be established simultaneously; states to declare all atomic materials sources and all existing stocks of weapons, and agree to control of sources, weapons, atomic factories and machinery; and a 12-member commission to submit by July, 1950, a draft convention on rights and duties of states.

Outlawing the Bomb and establishing control of energy without depriving any country of raw-material ownership (the Russian objection to the Baruch plan), Haiti's plan is more practical than the spectacular appeal of Assembly President Carlos Romulo of the Philippines. In a letter to the six atomic powers, Romulo called for an "atomic armistice," temporary prohibition of the Bomb and a raw-material control compromise. He quoted scientists' statements that, considering the small amount of fissionable material needed for peaceful development, the raw-material control problem is comparatively easy.

PERISH THE THOUGHT! What he failed to mention is that highly-industrialized countries like the U.S., with factories operating on "conventional" fuels, need less fissionable material than nations like the U.S.S.R., still engaged in vast industrialization projects. If allotted a certain quota of fissionable material, the Soviets would constantly need an increasing quantity.

Peaceful use of atomic energy could provoke an industrial revolution greater than that of the 19th century. Could it be for fear of this happening that the western powers, while refusing to understand the Soviet viewpoint, continue to delay in applying atomic energy to something useful?

RELIGION

ROMAN CATHOLICS

Asheville anathema

ON a recent Sunday in Asheville, N.C., Mrs. E. J. Major went to church as usual. She had been a faithful Roman Catholic for 22 years. The service followed its normal course until the Rev. William Kuder made an announcement: Mrs. Major was excommunicated as a communist. Later the priest produced the evidence: she had voted for Henry Wallace and read the **Daily Worker.**

Catholic neighbors dared speak to Mrs. Major only at peril to their own souls. But there was some doubt as to the validity of informal excommunication. If the things were done properly, the priest would need the consent of his bishop and would have to intone this anathema:

" . . . And may she be cursed in the city, cursed in the field, cursed be her barn, and cursed be her store; cursed be the fruit of her womb and the fruit of her land,, cursed be her coming in and going out: . . . Let her be buried with the burial of an ass, and be dung upon the face of the earth. . . ."

Judges on a spot

Roman Catholic judges and lawyers hurried to their archdiocesan authorities last week for interpretations of a papal statement: Catholic judges had been told not to grant civil divorces where marriages are valid in the eyes of the church. Vatican sources said the ruling applied even to divorce suits brought by non-Catholics.

Said District Judge Luis Armijo of Las Vegas, Nev.: "I may be a Catholic, but I'm a citizen of the U.S. first." Other Catholic legal experts were uncertain about the priorities of civil and ecclesiastical law.

SCIENCE

Progressive hens

"THE new Wallace venture," said the Washington **Post**, "is threatening widespread upsets in the nation's economy." The **Post** was talking not about the Progressive Party but about Henry Wallace's development of a hybrid chicken which promises to:

- Cut the cost of producing "white meat" poultry—as distinct from livestock—by 50%.
- Upset price support theories by radical cuts in production costs.
- Increase the production of eggs by 25-50% without any material increase in cost.

Wallace's hybrid hens are presently producing 225 to 250 eggs a year, compared with about 180 eggs for non-Wallace chickens. The last Wallace revolution gave the country a valuable hybrid corn 25 years ago.

EGG
PLURIBUS
UNUM

You'll find stories in the GUARDIAN you'll find in no other paper.

THE WORLD

INDIA

Nehru goes home on horns of a dilemma

PANDIT Jawaharlal Nehru was on his way home from the western world. He had heard the U.S. Army fire cannon in his honor. He had been showered by ticker tape on Broadway. He had talked with politicians and businessmen and scientists. He was a bewildered man.

He wanted the help of the west: food and dollars and machinery. But he could not belong to the west. Again and again he spoke of himself as a "man of Asia." He could not adapt himself to the Washington mode as had the rulers of Greece and Iran, or the exiles from Poland and Hungary. He found it hard for many reasons.

HE SAW JIMCROW: Firstly, his people look more to China than to the U.S., and Nehru dared not go too far in western ways. U.S. influence alone could not keep Nehru in office as long as it kept Chiang.

Secondly, as Nehru made clear in private conversations, he was dismayed at U.S. treatment of colored people.

The contradictions within Nehru made for a doubtful windup to his negotiations. He was promised 1,000,000 tons of wheat, but he had no idea when his hungry people might receive it. He was bitter about the crude attempts at political horse-trading in Washington.

On his side Nehru had turned down a Pacific anti-communist pact; rejected plans to make India a war base; made it clear India would recognize new China very soon, and would welcome trade with all nations, even socialist ones.

TRAVEL BROADENS: As he traveled, his bewilderment deepened. In London Indian students demonstrated against him, shouting: "Restore civil liberties in India. Rid India of corruption." Pandit Nehru said: "If I thought the people of India would not want me I would walk out."

When he arrived home he would find the dilemma deeper. For the trade unionists who once served time with him in British prisons were now in jail on Nehru's orders. The princes, the landlords, the Indian businessmen and British capital were still in power.

One solution for Nehru's dilemma was to turn down China's path, take the trade unionists out of jail, put the reactionaries in. But it meant ruthless action against the old order, and Nehru was nearing 60. He expressed marvelous surprise when they told him of new China—as if he had never been a socialist himself.

GERMANY

Here comes the bride

THE foreign ministers of the U.S., Britain and France met for two days in Paris and ended all pretense at dismantling German factories. The communique summing up the meeting was cautious.

Reason for the caution, according to the N. Y. **Times**, lay in "the fact that the French cabinet was politically hypersensitive because of the anticipation of a national election. . . . Public opinion makes it difficult to give in now." Trying to save face, the French hedged their agreement with a condition: that German steel production should not go beyond the present annual limit of 11,500,000 tons, and that a new study be made of the huge

(Continued on following page)

The 'Big 3' in Paris

U. S. picks Germany to pilot Europe's new New Order

By Tabitha Petran

LIKE the Red Queen in **Alice in Wonderland,** the foreign ministers of the U.S., Britain and France have to run faster and faster to stay in the same place. Only two months after meeting in Washington to grapple with the growing western economic crisis, they gathered in Paris for another effort to maintain a semblance of stability in the anti-Russian front.

Immediate reason for the conference was the rift on German policy. The three powers originally agreed to a program of dismantling some 2,000 German industrial plants. After sabotaging this program for four years, the U.S. forced Britain and France to accept a vastly curtailed dismantling program last spring.

To this limited program U.S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy expressed open opposition. Britain demanded clarification. France had made no secret of its strong opposition to termination of dismantling, but lost out at Paris when the program was junked altogether.

WANTED—NEW RABBIT: The dismantling quarrel was but one manifestation of the crisis. "A keystone of U.S. foreign policy is crumbling," said **Business Week** (Nov. 5) of the Marshall Plan. Secretary of State Acheson must pull another rabbit out of the hat to conceal the bankruptcy of his foreign policy. He has indicated it will be "economic union." Some essential features of this "grand design" for Europe are becoming clear.

1. Abolition of all protective trade barriers in Western Europe. This was ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman's price for continued Marshall aid. It would open the area to dumping of U.S. manufactured goods and farm surpluses.

2. End of dismantling. This makes Western Germany, with a steel capacity greater than England and France combined, the dominant power in Europe.

3. Restoration of the cartel system under U.S.-German domination. German industrialists, encouraged by McCloy, have proposed, as an alternative to dismantling, offering ownership in Ruhr plants to allied interests, and exchanging German shares for equal shares in French, Dutch and other western firms. They openly demand return of the cartels. McCloy himself has advocated extending the International Ruhr Authority beyond the frontiers of Germany. This U.S.-dominated authority allocates Ruhr steel and coal.

TRUMAN and ACHESON
Bring home ALL the bacon

4. Organization of Western Europe as a raw material base for German industry. This was envisaged in January, 1947, by John Foster Dulles. He said that Europe could prosper only if Germany's neighbors organized their economies "into dependence" on German economy. First step, according to press reports, will be creation of a central bank to control credit and administer Marshall Plan funds for participating nations. The U.S. and its German junior partners would thus control the economic life of these countries.

Economic integration, U. S. business men told the **Journal of Commerce** (Nov. 3), "entails a large measure of political integration." They believe economic union will also "entail population dislocations" and "run counter to plans for full employment."

5. Rearmament of Western Germany. German steel capacity must be considered war potential for the Atlantic Pact. Hanson Baldwin reported in the **N. Y. Times** (Sept. 25) that there is "much discussion" in Washington of arming German manpower. Washington reports say West German Chancellor Adenauer has asked the U.S. to equip 25 German divisions.

The U.S. design for "economic union" would proceed from a monetary union of France, Italy, Belgium (later the Netherlands and Luxembourg) to a "nuclear union" embracing Western Germany and Switzerland, to European Union and then Atlantic Union. This is the outline presented by official sources.

THIS FACE WON'T LIFT: The program is naive, and as unworkable as Hitler's **New Order**—which it resembles.

European opinion will not stand for a remilitarized Germany. "Economic union" would force every European country down to the living standards of the lowest. It would accelerate, not relieve, west Europe's trade crisis; contract, rather than expand, shrinking markets.

A German business man, Richard Freudenber, an ex-Nazi now a Bundestag deputy, stated the goals of "economic union" thus:

"The U.S. must insist that Europe abolish its trade barriers . . . There's got to be a U.S. of Europe and a common European currency backed by $10,000,000,000 which the U.S. must make available. This would in effect be adding 10 or 12 states to the U.S. but it has to be done. Western Europe's most important asset, its 250,000,000 people, and your 150,000,000 people and all the people of the British Commonwealth then would overpower Russia."

Report from Israel

'Our people will never let Jerusalem go'

By William Wolf
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

JERUSALEM

"ANYBODY coming to Jerusalem as an administrator better know that his life will not be 100% safe."

This blunt warning to those talking about internationalizing the city was expressed to me by Shmuel Katz, a leader of Herut, the right-wing Israeli political party that sprang from the Irgun underground organization.

Katz, who is on the party's central committee and is a representative in the Knesset, Israel's Parliament, was careful to say this does not mean Herut itself will spearhead the resistance. But rank-and-file Herut members are more specific; the general feeling in the Holy City leaves no doubt that there will be armed resistance to any attempt at internationalization.

CLOAK FOR COLD WAR: To the man in the street the internationalization proposal recommended by the United Nations Palestine Conciliation Commission means only an attempt to take away part of the Jewish state won in long struggle and bloodshed.

To political analysts, internationalization plainly means an attempt by the U.S. and Britain to drive a new wedge into the Middle East and use Jerusalem as a base against Russia in the cold war. An international city would be controlled by the majority in the UN, which means the U.S. and Britain.

AN ISRAELI FIGHTER
"Our boys gave their lives . . ."

Undoubtedly Herut is using this touchy situation to win support for its rightist program, perhaps talking more than it intends to act. As Katz said, new resistance would gain no advantage from the old leaders because everyone knows them. But he points out that there are enough soldiers who would hold their arms, youths eager to form a fighting force, and strong determination of the people to hold Jerusalem.

REASON FOR DEFIANCE: In this he is right. Internationalization invariably brings a response such as the answer of one young man who said resolutely: "Never! Our people will never permit it."

Behind this defiance lie the stories you hear and the war damage you see. "This building," said the guide, "was held successfully by the Israeli Army against one Arab assault after another. At one point the Arabs were on the ground floor for two hours." The battered bullet-pocked structure, once part of a communal farm, bore witness to his words.

"Jerusalem was nearly starved out when we were cut off," a housewife told me, pointing to a bullet hole in a kitchen window. "We knew we had to hold out; many of our boys attempting to bring in food gave their lives."

MOOD OF INSECURITY: Multiply these stories and you can understand the intense feeling. And when you go close to the wall that divides the Jewish New City from the Arab Old City, you grasp further the atmosphere of instability. Jerusalem goes about its business in peace but the people on both sides always sense the no-man's-land.

Most citizens are confident no internationalization attempt will be made. They believe the U.S. and Britain know how dangerous such a decision would be. The UN would have to be prepared to use force or lose face.

There is also the realization of western leaders that administration would rightfully come under the Trusteeship Council; as a member the Soviet Union would have a say, even though in the minority.

POWER OF THE DOLLAR: In addition, many spokesmen are of the opinion that the present Israeli government would make a forceful stand against internationalization. Others, notably Mapam and the Communists, don't have much faith in Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion and his Social Democratic Mapai Party. They believe that in a pinch he would bow to U.S. demands rather than risk losing the capital he is wooing so openly as a solution to Israel's economic problems.

Should Ben-Gurion take this course, his government, along with the U.S. and British, would have to answer to the Israeli people who are determined to hold Jerusalem.

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Thyssen steel plant at Hamborn.

Quickly the foreign ministers agreed to foster "the progressive integration of the German people into the European community." They discussed the military aspects of Germany but the French minister of information denied that they talked of rearming her. However, Secretary of State Acheson announced that the U. S. was planning a defense line for the West along the Elbe in the middle of Germany.

U. S. S. R.

Socialism celebrates its 32d birthday

MOSCOW'S Red Square was gay with bright bunting. Red Army troops lined up smartly before the crenelated Kremlin walls. Atop Lenin's tomb stood the Soviet leaders. Only Stalin, believed to be vacationing in the Crimea, was absent. It was a crisp, sunny day, the 32d anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

As units of the armed forces led off the parade, scores of jet planes under the command of Stalin's son, Gen. Vassily Stalin, flashed so swiftly across the sky that foreign military observers were unable to identify them. For five and a half hours the marchers—mostly workers—swung past the reviewing stand.

PEACE THE THEME: Keynote of the Soviet anniversary—determination for peace—was struck by Politburo member Georgi Malenkov in the Bolshoi Theater on the eve of the celebration.

The socialist state, he said, "has no need for foreign expansion. It needs no colonial seizure. The Soviet socialist system has eradicated the causes of economic crises from which the rulers of the capitalist world usually seek a way out by the road of military adventures."

Malenkov called for arms reduction, outlaw of the atomic bomb. "The Soviet people," he said, "are not afraid of peacetime competition with capitalism." They would use atomic energy for technical progress. (A Soviet-licensed paper in Berlin had reported the day before that the Russians were using atomic energy to blast mountains and reverse the course of rivers in order to irrigate vast reaches of land. At Lake Success Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vyshinsky confirmed the report. See UN, page 7).

DISAPPEARING ACT: The U.S. press complained at Malenkov's speech. His peace, said the N.Y. **Times,** "is the peace of the 'cold war;' the competition he proposes is the competition of political infiltration, underground warfare and rival armament."

The Associated Press erroneously reported that the portrait of Lazar Kaganovitch was not displayed with those of other Politburo members. AP concluded he had been dropped. Next day the press reported Kaganovitch made a major speech.

'It's the babies'

A third of a century after the founding of the Soviet state, U.S. newspapers and magazines were filled with memoirs of correspondents, diplomats, generals, purporting to give the low-down on Soviet socialist life. In essence they were the same tales of corruption and oppression that were told by tories of the 1920's, Nazis of the 1930's.

Leading the parade of western brains now propounding that "Russians" rather than "Communists" are the scourge of our time was British anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer—financed by the U.S. government after producing an ill-studied, ill-tempered tome on the American character. Gorer published a treatise maintaining that Russians are "aggressive" because of the tight swaddling of babies in that country, which causes the baby to "react with intense destructive rage."

LOVE IS UN-AMERICAN: In every country thousands of workers demonstrated their faith in the socialist world. In London, Paris, Brussels, Buenos Aires, Asia and eastern Europe they celebrated the Soviet anniversary. In Argentina the police of dictator Peron arrested 750 people after authorizing their celebration.

In Portland, Me., three Norwegian seamen were fined $10 and put on probation for singing "We Love Joe Stalin." Judge Edmund P. Mahoney told them: "We do not tolerate singing 'We Love Joe Stalin' or any other song which is not patriotic to us."

POLAND

Local boy returns

KONSTANTIN Rokossovsky, son of a Warsaw railroad worker, spent part of his youth working on the bridges that span the Vistula and part in jail for his radical politics.

He left Poland (then a territory of Tsarist Russia) to fight in the Tsar's army during the first World War; in 1917 he joined the Red Guards. By 1943 he was a colonel general in command of the Don army and helped lick the Nazis at Stalingrad. Two years later, he freed Warsaw and drove on to Berlin.

Last week Rokossovsky, a Marshal of the Soviet Army and Hero of the Soviet Union, resigned his commission and came back to Poland to stay. He became a Marshal of Poland and assumed command of the Polish Army. In Washington the State Dept. said Rokossovsky went to Poland as a "Soviet proconsul." In Warsaw, the Soviet Ambassador received delegations from trade unions and people's organizations who for five hours streamed in to thank the U.S.S.R. for putting Rokossovsky at Poland's disposal.

VISHINSKY AND THE ARCHBISHOP ADAM AT THE CELEBRATION
Thirty-two Octobers make for a lot of things to talk about

FRANCE

Heretics on trial: Aragon acquitted

"THERE was a little bit of Foley Square in autumnal gray Paris last week," wrote GUARDIAN's Stanley Karnow. Alain Le Leap, general secretary of France's General Confederation of Labor (GGT), was brought to court, charged with attacking "the foreign security of the state." He had written a magazine article denouncing the manufacture of arms and calling on workers to "defend the peace."

Another victim was Florimond Bonte, editor of the Communist weekly **France Nouvelle.** He was accused of slander for calling ex-Premier Queuille "delirious" because he suggested a "preventive" war against the Soviet Union.

ARAGON VS. MOCH: A third political trial resulted in a victory for the left. On Armistice Day last year, French police under orders of Interior Minister (later, fleetingly, Premier) Jules Moch fired on veterans demonstrating for peace in the Champs Elysees. In reporting the massacre Louis Aragon, poet and editor of the leftist **Ce Soir,** and Andre Carrel of the Communist **l'Humanite,** said the police used machine guns. Moch sued them for libel.

This was the decision of the court:

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"Reliable witnesses affirmed having seen guardians-of-the-peace (sic) firing revolvers, and told the court the shots were fired so rapidly as to sound like machine-guns . . . In addition, we might note that the bullets found in the bodies of the victims correspond to the caliber of revolvers used by the guardians-of-the-peace . . . In writing that machine-guns were used, the defendants have committed an error. But the mistake was not made in bad faith." Aragon and Carrel were acquitted.

ALL FOR ARAGON: Karnow described the scene of a meeting to celebrate Aragon's acquittal. "If there were any political differences among the enthusiastic audience, they were checked outside. Presiding over the rally was Jean Cassou, an admirer of Marshal Tito. Not far from him sat Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the Communist Party. Greetings poured in from Remy Roure, editor of the conservative **Monde**, movie director Pierre Renoir, novelist Colette, poet-playwright Jean Cocteau, and Howard Fast."

Back-alley Forrestal

In Paris' Moulineaux Alley there was a touch of Forrestal as well as Foley Square. A drunk named Skuzako shouted: "The Russians are coming! Save yourselves!", and hurled a bottle of sulphuric acid in the face of one of his neighbors.

Commented Karnow: "They haven't decided whether to put Skuzako in jail or an asylum. At the moment there are no openings in the Ministry of Defense."

YUGOSLAVIA

Wassermann test

WHEN the U.S. went wooing last week the style was pure Humphrey Bogart: ardent but tough.

Suitor George V. Allen, new U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, said in Belgrade: "We are in Tito's corner, but we've got to keep our feet on the ground. We've got to avoid the impression that we're going to throw our arms around anybody just because he's anti-Soviet. You can see where that would lead."

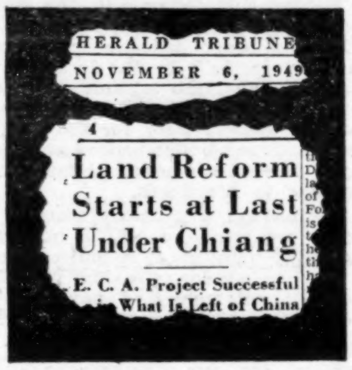
Then he recalled earlier exploits, compared his current flame with Iran which he as U.S. ambassador had fanned to anti-Soviet passion. He said: "Now whether Iran can pass a Wassermann test any better than Yugoslavia I don't know."

NO CONCESSIONS: Discussing U.S. economic aid to his country Milovan Djilas, Yugoslav Minister-without-Portfolio, said in New York he saw no reason "for concluding that the U.S. government would attach to these relations any political conditions." He hoped it would be platonic; but in any case Yugoslavia, he said, would not make "with regard to any country whatsoever concessions which would endanger the independence of its domestic and foreign policies."

CHINA

The people's airlines

DOZENS of Very Important Persons descended on a Hong Kong airfield in the early dawn. Planes were warmed up and ready for them. Their papers were quickly okayed. They were the bosses of two of China's airlines: Central Air Transport Corp. and China National Aviation Corp., 20% owned by Pan-American.



HERALD TRIBUNE
NOVEMBER 6, 1949
4

Land Reform Starts at Last Under Chiang

E. C. A. Project Successful in What Is Left of China

The VIPs were loaded into 12 planes and cleared for a destination somewhere in Chiang's China. Once in the air, though, they headed straight for Peking. There Premier Chou En-lai jubilantly welcomed the two air lines, which had come over to the People's Republic of China complete with 45 U.S. pilots.

Chiang Kai-shek was left with Maj. Gen. Claire Chennault, his last remaining air line owner. Chennault swore again he'd fly only in Chiang's territory.

It takes approximately one hour to fly from one end of Formosa to the other.

LATIN AMERICA

Point 4 points way for bankers & blood

UNDER President Truman's "bold new program" (Point Four), the U.S. this month is speeding up direct investment in Latin America. Washington's terms were announced by Laughlin Currie, head of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

They had a familiar ring: "Political stability within the law." Translated, they meant governments acceptable to Washington—willing to sell their countries to U.S. investors in return for the privilege of plundering the public treasury.

BLOODY BACKDROP: Currie set the stage at the swank Jockey Club of Bogota, Colombia, after a four-month survey of investment possibilities. In the 36 hours before his announcement, 234 Colombians had died in riots between Conservative and Liberal political factions.

Last week, two and a half hours after a congressional delegation had told Conservative Pres. Mariano Ospina Perez that it would try to impeach him, the Conservative government dissolved Congress, declared a state of siege and suspended all constitutional guarantees. Government troops marched into Bogota, set up machine-gun posts and searched all cars "for concealed weapons." Few persons loitered in the streets. The Conservatives announced that an election set for Nov. 27 would take place as scheduled. The Liberals had already indicated they would not participate.

Cuban danger sign

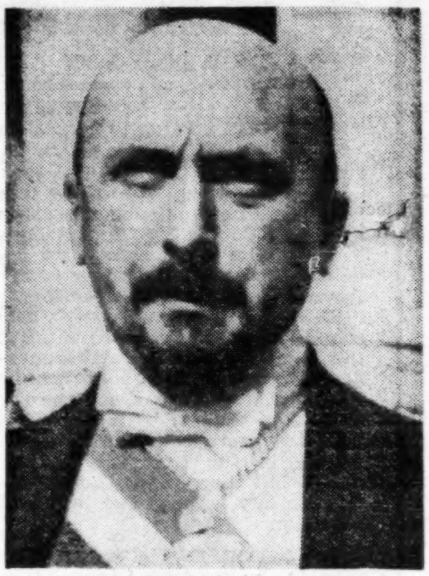
Another mission of bankers was moving on Cuba. President Carlos Prio Socarras had asked for a $200,000,000 loan. For the Cuban people the danger signal was up. Only in 1934 had they succeeded in junking the notorious "Platt Amendment" which gave the U.S. a treaty right to interfere in Cuba's internal affairs.

By last week, two former presidents had demanded that the loan request be dropped. A huge anti-loan demonstration took place before the capitol at Havana. But the Cuban Congress was expected to authorize negotiations.

BOLIVIA BOILS: A $16,000,000 Export-Import Bank loan entered a turbulent scene in Bolivia last week. Since May the Bolivians had gone through a state of siege, a general mobilization, an unsuccessful Rightist coup and a strike by exploited tin miners on whom the economy depends.

Government troops fought the miners, in whom U.S. capital has a sizable stake, but they fought back and won concessions.

Throughout, President Enrique Hertzog avoided excitement by remaining on "sick-leave." Vice-President Mamerto Urriolagoitia ran the country. On Oct. 22 the Bolivian Congress made it official, elected Urriolagoitia President. Soon thereafter, the U.S. shoveled in $16,000,000 to complete a highway begun 15 years ago. U.S. firms will supervise the job.



MAMERTO URRIOLAGOITIA
He took the high road

UNREST IN HONDURAS: From Mexico GUARDIAN's Willard Young reported last week that Honduras, another link in United Fruit's vast banana empire, was becoming restive. A popular campaign was under way against a new concession which would allow continued Unifruit exploitation at minimum taxes and without hiring Hondurans in responsible jobs.

Students, professional workers and labor unions sparked a drive to stop the steal. But Honduran President Juan Galvez, long a United Fruit legal adviser, was expected to protect his clients' interests. Controlling telegraphs, a daily newspaper and the only railroad, Unifruit has long had the government in its pocket.

PHILIPPINES

'Harry loves me'

PHILIPPINE voters in last week's presidential election had a choice of three candidates: Pres. Elpidio Quirino, Jose Laurel and Jose Avelino. Quirino and Laurel were Japanese puppets during the war; Avelino was removed from the Senate for graft.

Each candidate claimed a better, more direct, pipeline to-Washington dollars. Unemployment and an economy tied hand and foot to the U.S. went unmentioned. The left-wing Hukbalahaps were outlawed, still fighting in the mountains as guerrillas.

Midway returns gave a lead of 258,000 to incuumbent Quirino. His motto during the campaign was: "I know, deep in my heart, President Truman would prefer me."

Is UN international?

INTO the delegates' bar at Lake Success last Tuesday strode a Pole, logically seeking a drink. The quest was vain. Encircled by Nassau County Election Day laws, the bar was closed.

Infuriated more by principle than by thirst, the Pole took the case to UN's Legal Committee. A majority agreed that U.S. election laws should not apply to UN territory, promised to have the stuff flowing next Election Day.

More serious protests were boiling up against U.S. intrusion into the sovereignty of UN territory as an international zone. Members of the UN Correspondents Assn., which includes newspapermen of un-American political views, demanded action to let families join accredited reporters on UN assignments. They pointed to the Human Rights Declaration statement: "The family is the natural and fundamental unit of society and is entitled to protection."

Max Werner

Army, Air Force near showdown on A-bomb

THE short honeymoon between the Army and the Air Force seems to be over, with a strategic divorce looming ahead. Compared with the coming showdown between the real giants of our military establishment, the quelling of the Navy's opposition was merely a trifle.

Fresh tension is seen in the new flare-up of the fight about the B-36 superbomber, which the Air Force's Gen. Hoyt S. Vandenberg a few days ago said was the only atomic bomb carrier in our possession. But Army Chief of Staff Gen. Collins says: "It is impossible to conduct intra-continental bombing with present planes." In other words the B-36, mainstay of Air Force policy, cannot hit Russia.

TO BLITZ OR NOT TO BLITZ: There is a fundamental difference between the atomic strategy of the Army and of the Air Force. The Army, for whom the bomb is only a single weapon, is trying to put limits on it, to reduce its dangers, to "civilize" it. The Air Force, for whom it is **the** weapon, demands its use to the utmost, practiccally without restrictions.

The main issue is the possibility of swift decision by atomic blitz. To this the Air Force says: "Yes"; the Army, stubbornly and emphatically: "No."

Gen. Carl Spaatz, as Air Force Chief of Staff, wrote that the atomic offensive can win a war "instantly and decisively at the start." To this Gen. Bradley answered sharply a few weeks ago: "We cannot count upon it (the A-bomb) to be quickly decisive."

ARMY DISFAVORS SUICIDE: For the Air Force, atomic strategy is inextricably bound to attack and surprise. to strategic aggression. The idea of atomic aggression has the power of irresistible temptation for some air-atomic strategists. For them, atomic weapon-attack-surprise-aggression-preventive war are one single package of which single elements cannot be used separately. Preventive war is but a political formula for strategic aggression.

Yet the Army discards this part of the package vehemently. Preventive war, writes Gen. Bradley in the **Saturday Evening Post** article quoted above, "would be morally disastrous, politically impossible and militarily suicidal . . . It would be militarily suicidal because atomic bombs could not win a quick decision. In the long war which ensued, bad conscience would sap our morale."

WHO GETS BACK SEAT? A sharper clash on strategic goals and military doctrine is hardly possible. A fight lies ahead between Army and Air Force for a strategic lead and the size of both services. We cannot have a big Army and a big Air Force. But in writing that our defense must rest primarily on a single pillar—Air Power—Major de Seversky, who shaped the ideology of long-range air power, was advising the Army to share the Navy's subordinate role.

The air strategy's clinging to the A-bomb is understandable. Without the A-bomb that strategy would be helpless if not bankrupt. It cannot therefore accept the canceling of the Bomb by international agreement.

Thus a piece of explosive matter exerts a tremendous pressure on our strategy and policy.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Long-playing record bargains

FROM all signs, Columbia's 33⅓-rpm long-playing record seems likely to become standard, with the public largely turning thumbs down on RCA's 45-rpm version of the discs. Most recently Decca has announced it will make LP discs for 33⅓-rpm players—an important victory for the Columbia type.

Another important victory lies in the fact that all foreign recordings released under U.S. company labels are on 33⅓ rather than 45. Besides RCA-Victor, only Capitol uses the 45, but its products are also on 33⅓.

PLAYER PRICE CUT: Price of the Columbia player—which can be attached to any radio—has been cut to an official $9.95. Many dealers are unofficially cutting the price still further. In Philadelphia a group of neighborhood appliance shops gives a player free with the purchase of five LP records at list price. In New York, the Buy Wise Merchandise Co., 110 W. 42d St., has made the same offer.

Sam Goody, 853 Ninth Av., also offers a free LP attachment with five records. He also gives 50c trade-in on old shellacs, applied to purchase of other LP's. Ordering lists can be obtained in advance.

USE THE DISCOUNTS: If you already have the player, Buy Wise sells LP records at a discount of 25%. You can order any of the LP records on the Columbia, Decca and London lists.

Two types of attachment—at the same price—are available for playing LP records. One is a separate turntable which plays through your present phonograph or radio. The other is the Micro-Verter, an auxiliary turntable which fits over a record changer without requiring extra space.

Heating economy

WITH cold weather coming on, storm windows are necessary on cellar windows to protect that vital area from heat leaks. But regular storm windows are expensive. You can contrive them yourself for cellar, attic and other windows that need not be opened during winter with transparent plastic sheets reinforced by wire. Hardware stores sell these sheets by the yard. Just cut the sheet to overlap the window, and tack down the edges with thin wood strips.

You'll save fuel if you paint radiators with flat paint, preferably a dark shade. Bronze and other metallic paints often used for radiators reduce heating efficiency.

Private-brand tires

THE same tires which large manufacturers like U.S. Rubber and Firestone sell under their own names for about $15 are sold under the private brand names of large chains and service stations for about $11, the Federal Trade Commission has revealed. The private-brand tires offering this important saving include the Atlas, sold by various Standard Oil stations, and those sold by Sears Roebuck, Montgomery Ward, Western Auto Supply, and Gulf and Pure Oil stations.

Racks save food values

VALUABLE cooking aids for preserving vitamins and other food values are pot racks which fit into utensils and allow dry heat to circulate on all sides of foods instead of letting them stew. It's especially important to cook vegetables above the water line to preserve their Vitamin C content. Some pans and pots now in the market are equipped with such racks, but separate ones in various sizes are now available at reasonable prices.

A buck for Zilly

Zilliacus' crusade in England against bankruptcy and war is a crusade in a key spot for the peaceful, abundant future of every American too. Dollars from U.S. progressives would provide a great boost for his tough election campaign. Making one of its rare departures from policy in this field, the GUARDIAN asks internationally-minded progressives with a dollar to spare from pressing home needs to send it to Konni Zilliacus, House of Commons, London.

(see page 12)

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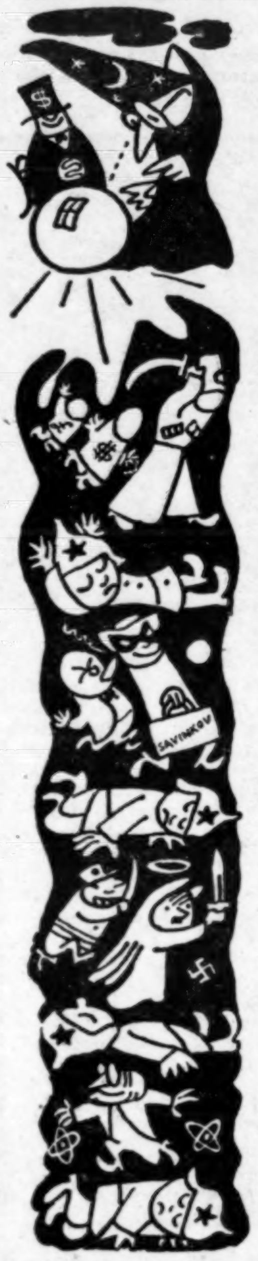


False prophets

A history of our time

By Jerome Davis

Prof. Jerome Davis, author ("Behind Soviet Power"), teacher and world traveler, took a trip back 31 years in history, tested the validity of U.S. foreign policy, checked the accuracy of diplomatic pudits and came up with the following box-score. Put it in your time capsule and check it 10 years from now.

1918—U.S. Ambassador Francis told me that in two months the Allied armies would be in Moscow, and Lenin and Trotsky would either be in prison or dead.

1920—The Allied armies of intervention have been defeated everywhere.

1921—Washington and London believe it is only a matter of time, due to hunger, starvation, chaos and opposition from within, that Soviet Russia will fall.

1924—Lenin dies. Boris Savinkov is sent to Russia by the British to lead in the overthrow of the Soviet regime. Savinkov is arrested and confesses everything at his trial, implicating Winston Churchill and others.

1926—Russia surprises the world by her economic recovery. Stalin offers to settle the claims of the United States. The Republican Administration at Washington, which does not recognize the Russian regime, does not even bother to reply.

1932—The western world begins faintly to hope that Trotsky may inaugurate a movement which will overthrow Stalin.

1933—With the election of President Roosevelt, the United States recognizes the Soviet Union.

1935—Hopes for a joint German-Japanese attack against the Soviet Union revive the belief in certain western circles that communism will collapse.

1939—Hitler attacks the west and signs a non-aggression pact with Russia.

1941—Germany attacks Russia. Most U.S. military officers believe the Russian army will collapse within three months. American generals are sent to Iran to take over when the Russian armies are defeated.

1945—The Red Army and the Allies triumph everywhere. The Soviets take Berlin. Russia is now admitted to be the second strongest power in the world.

1946—The U.S., with the exclusive secret of the atomic bomb, presses for world inspection and control of all atomic material and abolition of the UN veto in dealing with the bomb.

1947—President Truman requests $400,000,000 for the Greek and Turkish armies to combat communism.

1947—The total military aid given by the U.S. to the Kuomintang to fight the Chinese Communists exceeds all the money the U.S. had given China to fight the Japanese.

1949—The Chinese Communists win all over China, using captured U.S. arms. There are now 20,000,000 Communists throughout the world.

1949—President Truman, feeling secure in the monopoly of the bomb, says he will press the cold war until Russia "surrenders."

1949—The Russians explode an atomic bomb.

Leonia likes kids

Sense in the schools

By Fritz Silber

LEONIA, N.J.

IT'S easy enough these days to flip through a newspaper and find denunciations of "subversive" teachers, condemnations of "un-American" books, fears for the "safety" of our schools.

But all is not lost. There are towns and people in America, many of them, looking forward to days of better education and deeper understanding of children's problems. There are groups of teachers and parents with sensible views, anxious to teach well, eager to learn new and valuable ideas.

This is a report on one group.

STEP AHEAD OF PTA: The town is Leonia, N.J., (pop 7,000) which lies along a wooded ridge a mile from the Hudson River, across from upper New York City. The group is the Home and School Assn., modeled on the Parent-Teacher Assn. except in one important respect: PTA chapters can't take part in the political life of a community; the Leonia group has active delegates on the town council.

Leonia has an elementary school and a high school. The Home and School Assn. has a division for each, with an executive committee tying them together. Membership is voluntary, costs each family 50c a year.

THE VIEW IS LONG: One night recently some 400 parents and teachers met in the elementary school auditorium for their first fall meeting. The chairman of the Board of Education spoke on school problems and plans.

The town needed more school space, he said, and the parent-voters had better face the facts. Studies of population growth showed that school classes would increase steadily until 1956 or 1957, requiring at least eight more classrooms. Architects were already drafting plans, and negotiations were under way for land.

NOT FANCY—BUT GOOD: "We don't want fancy schools with bum teachers," the chairman said. "We want good schools, with plenty of space, and fine teachers."

Next on the agenda was a discussion of "meeting the emotional needs of the child." A young psychiatrist from Columbia University told about a documentary film made by experts at Vassar. He described the home and school situations that caused conflicts and abnormalities in child behavior, and how common sense could avert them.

Then the film was shown. Parents and teachers were fascinated as excellent photography and narration depicted everyday crises in children's lives and related them to the conduct of adults in the classroom and living room. (The Vassar documentaries can be obtained on a rental or purchase basis from New York University; Columbia University expects to make them available soon.)

A NEW AWARENESS: Later there were questions. The psychiatrist talked about the need for insight into the emotional, physical and intellectual demands of children, and about daily problems that seem critical but are really normal.

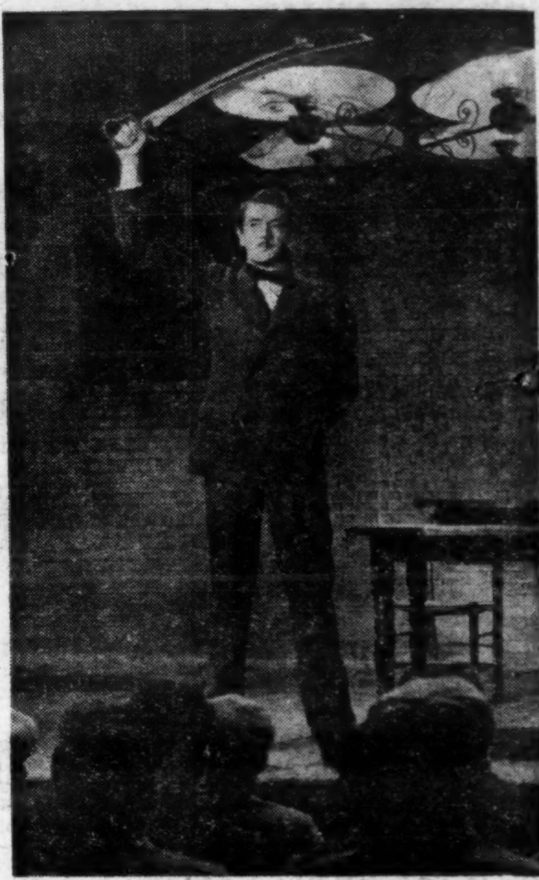
People left the meeting thoughtful, keenly aware of their town's schools, aware also that they had homework to do for better education.

"One of the best school meetings I ever went to," said one tired business man.

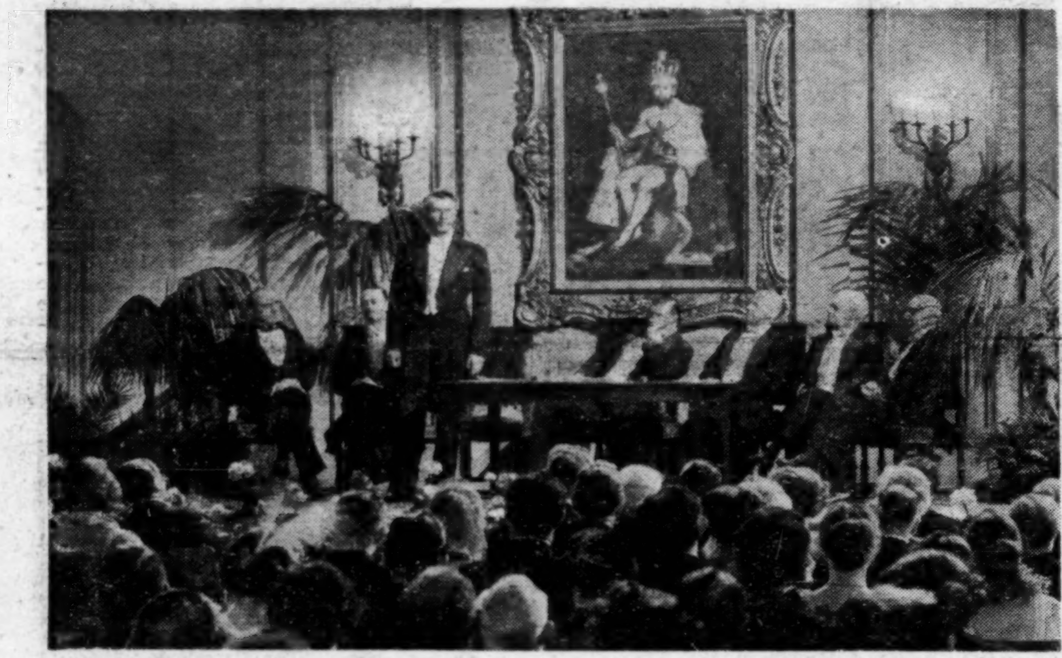
Picture of a man who sold out —

"Too much like history to make a solid movie," an embarrassed critic called the British film "Fame Is the Spur," now at N. Y.'s Little Cinemet. In Hamer Radshaw (Michael Redgrave), it closely reproduces Britain's Socialist renegade, first Labor Premier Ramsay MacDonald. More embarrassing to some is the parallel with latter-day renegade Bevin and with closer-home labor leaders currently selling out the people.

In a working-class cottage in Lancashire, Grandpa Radshaw shows Hamer the saber with which Grandpa's sweetheart was killed in cold blood at the Peterloo workers' demonstration in 1819. "Maybe," says Grandpa, "when you're older you'll see what it means better than I ever did."



(Above) Hearing a street orator say: "Our forefathers had a cry—Bread and Liberty," the boy Hamer dramatically repeats the words before a mirror. (Right) Elected to Parliament by Labor, Hamer is called to revive the spirit of starving strikers. He waves the sword; the strikers, in a frenzy, attack the coal mine where one of them is shot dead. To reporters, Hamer indignantly denies he was responsible.



While Hamer, now in line for a post in a Tory coalition cabinet, makes sonorous speeches to plush meetings, his wife, inspired by his old militancy, throws herself into the Suffragette movement. Hamer chides: "These women are crude agitators; one needs a certain amount of—shall we say—statesmanship." After a jail term with forcible feeding, his wife dies, trying to show him what a phony he has become.

Tossed into history's trash-can by the people at the polls, Hamer gets a Tory bone: the title of "Lord Radshaw." After a banquet of honor, he tries to draw Grandpa's saber from the scabbard where it has rusted. His butler consoles: "Now you can go to bed nice and quiet, my lord, and read the report of your speech."

— and of one who didn't

By Cedric Belfrage

IN 1939 a man describing himself as "an Englishman with a jaw-breaking name and a mixed international background" was nominated by Laborites of Gateshead (England) as their parliamentary candidate. In 1945 he was elected. In 1949 the Labor Party expelled him for "criticizing too bluntly" Labor Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin—more correctly, for sticking exactly to Labor's election pledges while Bevin betrayed them.

The stormy career of Konni Zilliacus (born in Japan of an American mother and Swedish father resident in Finland) dramatizes in real life the antithesis of the **Fame Is The Spur** movie described above. What has happened to left-wing Socialist Zilliacus is what happens in our time to all people's leaders in the west who refuse to sell out.

ZILLIACUS

And Bevin is essentially the same man as the Hamer Radshaw of the film: the perennial labor leader who, once in power in a capitalist society, is corrupted by the adulation of "people who matter" and forgets the common people who trusted and fought for him.

BEVINISM EXPOSED: Now organizing an "all-out crusade against the drift to bankruptcy and war" as he prepares to fight the Gateshead constituency as an independent, Zilliacus has done a masterful job of defending his position and exposing Bevinism in a pamphlet, **Why I Was Expelled**, and a 500-page book, **I Choose Peace.**

The importance of Zilliacus is international, because he is a brilliant on-the-spot observer of world affairs for 30 years (he was in Russia during the revolution, a key League of Nations official for years after that); and because the reasoned result of his experience is the determination all progressives must have—to stop fighting other progressives on "ideological" differences and unite against the enemies of peace and abundance.

KISS ME, DUCHESS: In **I Choose Peace** Zilliacus re-tells the story of Britain's first Labor Prime Minister, Ramsay MacDonald, whose government fell as a result of his anti-communist hysteria. When he set up a "national unity" coalition to save the country (i.e. capitalism), MacDonald made the classic remark: "Every Duchess in the land will want to kiss me after this."

And now—in spite of the lesson of the agonies and defeats resulting from the compromises of Germany's Socialists, and in spite of Britain's overwhelming vote for a truly socialist foreign policy—Bevin and Attlee are traveling the same road. They have carried on unchanged the old, futile Foreign Office policy (in Greece, in Palestine, in Malaya), and have ended up "roosting side by side with Winnie (Churchill)."

SANITY GOES ON: Every progressive who wants a documented, complete picture of today's political realities should get a copy of Zilliacus' book. It will reassure them that western people's leaders can also be spurred by sanity and decency.

Respected even by his enemies (if only for his encyclopedic knowledge of world affairs), "Zilly" has never lost his calm sense of values. Of the Labor Party which expelled him, he writes: "It is flesh of the flesh, bone of the bone of the workers who made it and sustain it by their hope, faith and sacrifice. It is greater than its leaders—or than its rebels and outcasts."

Bernard Shaw calls "Zilly" "a man who must be attended to, and his questions answered" if another mass-slaughter is to be avoided. He will be attended to, and his fame will endure long after Bevin has settled down as a tawdry memory in history.

WHY I WAS EXPELLED. Collet's, 9 Southampton Place, London, 72 pp. 30c.

I CHOOSE PEACE. Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Mdx., England. 509

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